

NUCLEAR TIMES

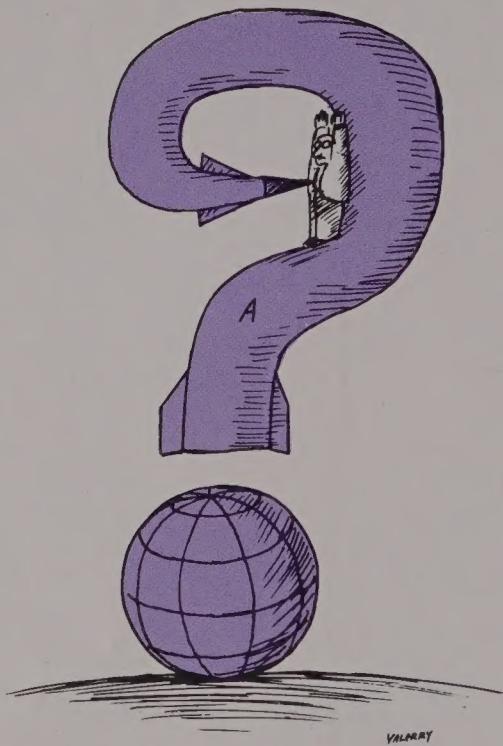
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GLOBAL QUESTIONS



Nuclear Times is back with a new look, a quarterly schedule, and a broader focus on peace, justice, and the environment. It covers the issues that affect global security and lets you know what's being done to make our world a safer place.

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NUCLEAR TIMES

ISSUES & ACTIVISM FOR GLOBAL SURVIVAL

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Editors' Note

Shaping *Nuclear Times* to Match the Activism of the 1990s

Magazines, like social movements, go through cycles of change, and so it is with *Nuclear Times*. Created in 1982, *Nuclear Times* has served the large and diverse community of activists, educators, and researchers as a source of news and analysis. We will continue that role into the 1990s in a slightly new form and style.

Last April, publication was suspended to redesign the magazine and find a new institutional home. That process took longer than planned, but both objectives have now been accomplished. The redesign, as a quarterly, will bring you a larger magazine with in-depth features and the news of peace activism you have relied on for many years.

The new home is the Winston Foundation for World Peace in Boston. Though principally a grant-making institution, the Foundation published the *Annual Review of Peace Activism* last year, and intended to continue doing so. The adoption of *Nuclear Times*, however, created an opportunity to reach a larger audience. The purpose of the *Annual Review* —to provide analytical chronicles of activism—will become a part of the new *Nuclear Times*.

As this issue makes clear, we are also broadening the mission of the magazine. Nuclear disarmament and the effects of the Cold War will remain the core concerns. But we will use a wider scope to view the emerging issues of global security: the environmental crisis, human rights and social justice, and economics will gain our attention. And, while there is considerable euphoria about the demise of the Cold War—a transformation the peace community was instrumental in achieving—conflict continues unabated in Central America, Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere.

The peace movement is evolving, and *Nuclear Times* must evolve with it. The "growth" areas—peace education, environmentalism, human rights, and economic justice—are bursting with creative energy. More traditional activities, such as opposition to weapons systems, U.S. policies in Central America and South Africa, and excessive Pentagon spending, continue to mature and to influence Washington decisionmaking.

But a sense of drift and contraction in the peace community is discernable. We are, in part, victims of our own success. America's rapid acceptance of the Gorbachev phenomenon, Congress's arms-control activism, the public's demands for nuclear reductions, less U.S. aid for the *contra* war—these achievements, in the absence of national leadership, are *our* achievements. It is crucial that we recognize that and build upon it.

Nuclear Times will try to do both of those things—recognize the successes and failures of our community, and suggest how to build and broaden peace activism.

We believe this new issue is informative and provocative. But we want to know if you agree. Tell us if the new format and the articles we've chosen are what you want and need. With your help, the new *Nuclear Times* will be able to serve the cause of global renewal throughout the next decade.

Cover: East German border guard looks through hole in Berlin Wall as citizens of West Berlin chip away at it.

Photo credit: Michael Dahgaard, Impact Visuals

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DISPATCHES

OUTRAGE OVER EL SALVADOR'S WAR

by Mike Zielinski

Of all the unpaid bills Ronald Reagan bequeathed to George Bush, one of the costliest is the war in El Salvador. It's an account that's starting to come due.

The war in El Salvador has been invisible to most Americans in recent years, overshadowed by the controversy surrounding U.S. support for the Nicaraguan *contras*. The decade-long war is in the public eye once again, with protest demonstrations and news reports revealing the extent of U.S. intervention in El Salvador's civil war.

The nationwide offensive launched by Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) rebels on November 11, 1989 shattered the myth that U.S. policy in El Salvador is a success story. In a series of more than 50 simultaneous assaults, the FMLN brought the war to El Salvador's major cities, battling the government street by street for control of the capital, San Salvador.

The FMLN established positions throughout San Salvador, including several of the capital's wealthiest suburbs, while contesting the government for control of provincial capitals and army garrisons across the country.

vilian population. Using U.S.-supplied planes and helicopter gunships, the Salvadoran armed forces systematically bombed, rocketed, and strafed San Salvador's most densely populated working-class communities. No reli-

According to U.S. military officers, the war in El Salvador is the largest U.S.-backed counterinsurgency campaign since Vietnam. In the last decade, the U.S. has lavished more than \$4 billion on the government of El Sal-

vador, making this Massachusetts-sized country the third-largest recipient of U.S. aid in the world. But U.S. aid is not confined to money. Congressional studies indicate that as many as 150 U.S. military advisers help direct every aspect of the war, from training troops to approving battle plans.

Military attacks on civilians and church workers in El Salvador have

helped trigger a revival of protest and resistance to U.S. policy. Between the eruption of heavy fighting on November 11 and a national day of protest held on December 4, more than 400 demonstrations took place across the United States. Organizers for CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) estimate that more than 50,000 people participated, including 1,000 people arrested in civil disobedience.



OPPOSITION LEADER RUBEN ZAMORA (LEFT) AND TRADE UNION LEADER HUMBERTO CENTENO (CENTER) ESCORT THE CASKET OF A JESUIT PRIEST KILLED ON NOVEMBER 16.

The renewed round of fighting was preceded by widespread predictions from Salvadoran and U.S. officials that the rebel movement was on the brink of defeat, no longer capable of mounting a serious challenge to the U.S.-backed ARENA (Nationalist Republican Alliance) government.

Unable to contain the FMLN's advances, the government launched a punishing counterattack on the ci-

able count of the dead and wounded exists, but Red Cross officials have placed the casualty toll at well over 2,000, while community organizers estimate that as many as 70,000 people are homeless in the aftermath of the bombing. Radio transmissions monitored by journalists in San Salvador suggest that U.S. personnel were actively involved in selecting bombing targets for the Salvadoran air force.

actions condemning U.S. aid to El Salvador. According to Hugh Byrne, CISPES's political director, "We're putting the administration on

churches are under attack for their work with the country's poorest communities. According to Baptist minister Edgar Palacios, "In the shan-

Vatican calling for the removal of several bishops because of their "questionable ideology" in the service of the poor. The letter pointedly warned that the government could not guarantee their safety. Leaders of the Lutheran and Episcopal churches also received death threats and their offices were ransacked.

In the United States, the National Council of Churches and leaders from the Presbyterian, Episcopal, Lutheran, Mennonite, Ameri-

can Baptist, and Church of the Brethren denominations issued statements urging a suspension of lethal aid to El Salvador. Many religious leaders have participated in civil disobedience protests. On November 20, San Francisco's Jesuit-run colleges shut their doors and encouraged faculty and students to attend a demonstration at the federal building. More than 130 people were arrested for blockading the federal government's offices in a protest spearheaded by the Jesuit community.

On December 2, 47 religious activists were arrested outside the White House while kneeling in prayer to commemorate the 70,000 Salvadorans killed in the ten-year-old war. President Bush was clearly rattled when a group of nuns confronted him at a Republican fundraising luncheon in Chicago on November 20. During the

president's speech, several nuns stood up and demanded to know, "Why are we killing priests in El Salvador?"

Actions stretching from Sacramento to Kennebunkport have succeeded in causing highly visible disruptions. In Seattle, 82 people were arrested on November 20 after shutting down Interstate 5 for over an hour. While traffic piled up for miles, demonstrators distributed leaflets to idled motorists, many of whom expressed sympathy for the goals of the action.

Viewers of Macy's annual Thanksgiving Day parade in New York witnessed the sudden appearance of a 30-foot bomb-shaped helium balloon bearing the inscription "No Vietnam War in El Salvador. Stop U.S. Bombing in El Salvador." Twenty-five activists accompanied the unauthorized float for three-fourths of a block before police wrestled the balloon away from them and arrested nine people.

A new tactic took protests directly to the homes of U.S. policymakers. Bernard Aronson, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, was besieged at his Takoma Park, Maryland home on at least three occasions by protesters intent on planting crosses on his front lawn. While hosting a Thanksgiving Day dinner for friends and family, Aronson was confronted by some 35 demonstrators denouncing State Department disinformation on El Salvador. The protests prompted Aronson to approach the mayor of Takoma Park about arranging a meeting with the local activists to discuss the situation.



ON NOVEMBER 18, OVER 3,000 PEOPLE MARCHED TO THE WHITE HOUSE, TAKING OVER PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE AND CULMINATING IN THE ARREST OF 97 PEOPLE.

notice that intervention in El Salvador will lead to the same kind of massive protests which polarized U.S. society during the Vietnam War."

The religious community is at the forefront of the current surge of protest, called to action by the ARENA government's pervasive persecution of church workers in El Salvador. The death-squad-style assassination of six Jesuit priests on November 16 horrified the world. Colonel Francisco Elena Fuentes and other high-ranking military officers accused the FMLN of the murders, but on January 7, El Salvador's president Alfredo Cristiani admitted that "there was involvement of some elements of the armed forces": a week later, eight soldiers were arrested. But the massacre of the priests proved to be only the prelude to a wider campaign of repression.

Within El Salvador,

towns of San Salvador, the churches have taken the decision to stand with the poor, to help them gain education, health care, and housing. For this reason, church workers are branded as 'communists' and 'subversives.'

More than 200 religious workers, Salvadoran and foreign, were rounded up in house-to-house sweeps conducted by the army in late November. Salvadorans have been detained by state security forces, while foreigners face expulsion. The case of Jenifer Casalo, a U.S. church worker charged with aiding the FMLN, sparked a firestorm of publicity in the United States, but far less attention has been paid to the scores of death threats that have forced a majority of foreign church workers to leave El Salvador. Following the assassination of the Jesuits, El Salvador's attorney general sent a letter to the

The stepped-up protests have been accompanied by a right-wing backlash. On November 27, priests and Salvadoran refugees living in Los Angeles received a series of death threats signed by "The Catholic Anti-Communist Movement." The letters, written in Spanish, warned, "All of you will die because you are part of the [guerrillas]. Just like they are destroying El Salvador, you will be destroyed!" Among those named in the death threats were Father Luis Olivares of the La Placita Church, which has one of the largest congregations of Salvadorans in the United States, and Blase Bonpane, who directs the Office of the Americas. A similar threat was issued to activist priest Jim Flynn in Louisville, Kentucky.

Anti-intervention activists and Salvadoran refugees in the Los Angeles area have been the frequent target of intimidation campaigns and physical violence. During the summer of 1987, a Salvadoran woman there was kidnapped, raped, and tortured by a self-proclaimed death squad.

The ARENA government is feeling the heat. On November 26, the *San Francisco Examiner* reported that President Cristiani convened a meeting of some 30 industrialists and large landowners to discuss the damage done to the government's international image by the killing of the Jesuits and widespread press reports of the air force's bombing of civilian communities. According to the *Examiner*, "Cristiani was said

to be especially concerned with the widespread demonstrations in major American cities calling for an end to U.S. aid."

As a new congressional session opened in late January, debate began on a bill introduced by Senator John Kerry (D-Mass.), calling for a cutoff of military aid until certain human rights violations are corrected. His bill, called the Peace and Democracy Act, would end all military aid until a variety of conditions are met, including the repeal of all laws limiting democratic freedoms in El Salvador, an end to persecution of the church, and the removal of military personnel linked to human rights abuses. A similar bill has been introduced to the House by Ron Dellums of California.

The variety of protests demanding an end to U.S. aid to El Salvador represents the largest wave of anti-intervention actions since the end of the Vietnam War. Plans are underway for a national mobilization against U.S. intervention in Central America on March 24, to coincide with the tenth anniversary of Archbishop Oscar Romero's assassination by an El Salvadoran government death squad. Based on this rise in resistance to U.S. policy, the Bush administration is likely to find that the cost of continued intervention is one bill the American public won't pay.

Mike Zielinski is editor of *Alert*, the newspaper of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

CLIPS

Animal rights alert: Cleveland Amory, author and animal rights activist, is railing against the Pentagon for funding Louisiana State University's project on gunshot injuries to the head. Trouble is, cats are being used in the \$2 million experiment. Meanwhile, in Nevada, U.S. Navy "top gun" pilots have been fingered in the strafing deaths of bighorn sheep and are suspected in the mysterious killings of hundreds of wild horses....The **Council on Economic Priorities'** guide to responsible consuming, *Shopping for a Better World*, has sold more than 350,000 copies and has been translated into Japanese. (You can get a 1990 edition by calling 1-800-822-6435.) Speaking of money, the **Wall Street Green Review** premiered in January, giving environmentally sound investment advice at a mere \$96 a year....The national meeting of **Physicians for Social Responsibility** will focus on environmental and health effects of nuclear weapons production. PSR will convene in Denver March 23-24. This year's PSR Award will go to Norman Cousins....The nation's 168 nuclear-free communities in late November formed the **U.S. Nuclear Free Zone Association**. It will, says Wilson Riles, Jr., of the Oakland City Council, "advocate for local government's right to make policy decisions regarding the transportation and production of nuclear materials in our communities"....Nearly 5,000 Russians answered a request printed in Soviet newspapers by **Peace Links** asking for pen

pals. The stream of incoming letters has overwhelmed the staff and volunteers at **Peace Links**. According to editor Mary Liepold, "we seem to have found a direct line to the heart of the Soviet people." Typical of the response: "People all over the world are shouting—we don't want any war," wrote Tatyana and Sergei Mysko. "American people's troubles are Soviet people's troubles, and vice versa"....There's been a major victory in the four-year boycott against General Electric, a nuclear-weapons maker. Boycott-organizer **INFAC** announced that TARGET discount stores, third largest in the U.S., have severed a 27-year exclusive relationship with G.E. to stock alternative light bulbs. INFAC says that this and other boycott actions have cost G.E. more than \$57 million in sales....The Department of Energy will "reassess" its plan to deposit spent fuel from nuclear power plants in Yucca Mountain in Nevada. The state's growing opposition to the plan is a victory for groups like Reno-based **Citizen Alert**....The **Nuclear Times** readers survey last fall earned a healthy 12% response. Readers most want us to cover nuclear disarmament, military spending, the environment, and the end of the Cold War. Least favored is coverage of chemical and biological weapons. More than 27% of *NT* readers belong to five or more peace groups, and half are active on other issues, particularly the environment. The *NT* staff thanks you for your response. ■

THOUGHTS ON PANAMA

The U.S. invasion of Panama in December left thousands of Panamanian casualties, a muddled trial ahead for former CIA operative Manuel Noriega, a storm of angry protest from Latin America, and several violated international laws in its wake.

Because of its timing and its putative target—the thoroughly demonized Noriega—the invasion has apparently been popular with the U.S. public. Only a scattering of protests around the nation challenged the surge of jingoism. We asked two nonintervention stalwarts, Noam Chomsky and William Sloane Coffin, how they view the invasion a month after the fact. "With the Soviet Union removing itself from the world scene, the U.S. is more free to use force in the international affairs," says Chomsky. "The situation has been clarified in another way: the U.S. always contended that we were 'containing' the Soviets; Panama makes clear that they were containing us. The State Department said that we now have more clout.

"There is a new enthusiasm for intervention in the liberal press. Before, there was a fear that intervention might get us into trouble, but now the range for intervention is extended, because the deterrent—the Soviet Union—is gone. Indeed, the invasion of Panama was historic—the first time since 1945 that U.S. intervention was not linked to the Soviet 'threat.'

"The general rhetoric about the Cold War being ended is only half true. The Soviet Union has called off

its half of the game. But the U.S. has not called off its attempt to control third world populations.

"Noriega had to go because he was too independent. Panama was open to Nicaragua and Cuba to get around U.S. economic embargoes. The drug war—an official reason for the invasion—is a complete hoax," says Chomsky. "Intervention is still too costly in most instances, feasible only in places where we can beat up people who can't fight back. But it's

true that Panama will encourage the U.S. to feel freer to intervene elsewhere."

"We're behaving like 13th century crusaders," says Coffin, president of SANE/FREEZE. "The righteousness of the mission cleanses the crime of intervention.

"Power is still such a narcotic to the American people. But I hope that the Panama invasion is like a good belt of whiskey—it gives you a lift but has no lasting effect. Once the American people see that this is costing \$2-3 billion,

that we're becoming an occupying power, and so forth, perhaps they'll become more thoughtful."

BIG 1990 PUSH FOR CTB

The long struggle to end nuclear testing will get new life this year as a swirl of events heats up the issue.

The Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) of 1963 has a provision to amend the accord, and U.S. activists em-

CRUISING TO VICTORY

Maine voters said no to continued Navy testing of cruise missiles over their state in a nonbinding referendum in the November elections. But organizers of the successful referendum won't be satisfied with the paper-ballot 52 to 48 percent victory; they want the majority will of Maine voters to influence U.S. military policy.

Maine and to help get START unstuck."

With their vote, Maine citizens voiced a belief shared by many Americans: that SLCMs are unnecessary for U.S. security. The Soviets, who are far behind the U.S. in the SLCM arms race, seek verifiable limits that the U.S. opposes. At the Malta summit in December, no progress was made on SLCM negotiations.

Said one U.S. official, "The Soviets seem as insistent as ever on restricting them. We are as insistent as ever not to." If the U.S. persists,

START treaty will be much harder to negotiate.

Referendum supporters are counting on the political clout of Sen. William Cohen and Rep. Joseph Brennan, who sit on Senate and House armed services committees,

and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell to influence Navy and Defense Department officials. On December 12, Governor John McKernan Jr. and Maine's congressional delegation met with Navy Secretary Lawrence Garrett to ask for an end to cruise missile testing over Maine and that a specific date be established to terminate the tests. They also said that the cruise missile should be put on the bargaining table in the START talks.

But the Maine delegation made one request that representatives of the Maine referendum opposed: "If testing continues, that the number of tests be limited and that they be confined to cold weather months." Said John Nelson, president of the Coalition for the Cruise Missile Referendum, "Voters did not call on the Navy to continue tests as planned, or to continue them on any other basis, but to stop them."

Referendum members will continue to monitor the cruise tests in Maine as they wait for the Navy's response.



CRUISE MISSILE FLYING OVER MOUNT KATAHDIN IN MAINE DURING A TEST IN JANUARY 1989.

"The sea-launched cruise missile [SLCM] is now the single greatest sticking point in the negotiations toward a START treaty," says referendum campaign manager, Eric Johnson. "Our effort is now two-fold: to stop the tests in

ployed that device to convince two-thirds of the 118 parties to the treaty to call for an amendment conference. It will take place either this summer or next January.

"The Bush administration's reasons for opposing the test ban are dissolving," says Carolyn Cottom, who coordinates the CTB Coalition in the U.S. "There is a growing consensus that a CTB is the missing link after a START treaty is completed."

The amendment confer-

ence could in theory enact a ban on underground tests. More likely, it will be a vehicle for the world community to register its dissatisfaction with the superpowers' continuing arms race.

The conference dovetails neatly with the 1990 review of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which obligates nuclear states to disarm in return for non-nuclear states' pledges not to develop nuclear weapons. The NPT review, the last before the treaty expires in

1995, takes place in late summer.

"This is a wonderful opportunity internationally to make an impact on nuclear proliferation and to put pressure on Bush to negotiate a comprehensive test ban," says Cottom. The U.S. has tried to subvert the amendment conference, however, and has threatened to squash NPT extension in 1995 if a CTB is linked to the proliferation pact. A test ban, experts note, would not only create high hurdles for nuclear "modernization," but would make nuclear proliferation much harder.

The CTB Coalition—whose most active members include International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Greenpeace, SANE/FREEZE, and Women's Strike for Peace—is mounting a major campaign to raise the visibility of the amendment conference and the U.S.'s recalcitrance. Later this year, a Cities Talk Back (CTB) effort will commence. "We'll be asking local activists to educate their city officials, news media, and congressional delegations," says Cottom.

A number of international events will complement local work. In early March, test site workers and residents from the U.S. and USSR will meet in Nevada and then visit Washington, D.C. In May, an international meeting in Kazakhstan, the republic where the Soviets test nuclear weapons, will urge Gorbachev to reinstitute the testing moratorium he maintained for 18 months in 1985-87. (Many believe he will take the plunge again.) Parliamentarians from the U.K., the USSR, and the U.S.—the

three "depositary" states of the PTBT—will then bring the message to Washington policymakers.

Says Cottom: "The time has never been better to get the U.S. to stop testing and to negotiate a comprehensive ban."

COMMON SECURITY ADVANCES

A new effort to cut the military budget and reorient U.S. foreign policy was launched in Washington, D.C. in early January. The Committee for Common Security (CCS), comprised of several dozen prominent activists, academics, and former U.S. officials, will initiate a public-education campaign and provide recommendations to national decisionmakers.

Its first policy salvo calls for slashing Pentagon spending by 50-90 percent over the next decade and a new House-Senate panel "to undertake an immediate and thorough assessment of U.S. military commitments." Defense planning, said CCS member and MIT professor George Rathjens, "should begin at zero and build upward within the context of findings made by the special joint committee."

Future work by CCS will include several colloquia around the U.S. in mid-April to discuss reshaping priorities, and monthly reports that assess common security concepts in relation to economic issues, the environment, the third world, and other questions.

Organized by the Institute for Peace and International Security (IPIS) in Cambridge, Massachusetts,



PAUL SHOUL

ON NOVEMBER 30, THE IRS AUCTIONED OFF THE HOME OF ROBERT BAILY AND PATRICIA MORSE, WAR TAX RESISTERS FROM COLRAIN, MASSACHUSETTS. THEIR HOME SITS ON VALLEY COMMUNITY LAND TRUST PROPERTY, ACROSS THE ROAD FROM RANDY KEHLER AND BETSY CORNER (PICTURED IN PHOTO). KEHLER AND CORNER'S HOME WAS BOUGHT BY THE IRS IN JULY FOR \$5,100, AFTER NO MONETARY BIDS WERE MADE IN A SIMILAR AUCTION. THE BAILY-MORSE HOME WAS PURCHASED FOR \$4,846.16 BY A LOW-INCOME, HANDICAPPED WOMAN WHO WAS ENCOURAGED BY THE IRS TO BID ON THE HOUSE. THE WAR TAX REFUSERS SUPPORT COMMITTEE IS MEETING WITH THE BUYER AND HOPES TO NEGOTIATE A REFUND OF HER MONEY, SINCE SHE WAS SHOWN THE WRONG HOUSE DEED AND WAS NOT AWARE OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE IRS SEIZURE. KEHLER AND CORNER HAVE PASSED THE SIX-MONTH BUY-BACK PERIOD REQUIRED BY THE IRS, AND HAVE REAFFIRMED THEIR RESISTANCE TO WAR TAXES. ALL OF THEIR FEDERAL TAXES HAVE BEEN PAID TO THE PIONEER VALLEY WAR TAX RESISTERS ALTERNATIVE FUND OR DISTRIBUTED TO NONPROFIT HOUSING, HUMAN SERVICES, AND VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS. HUNDREDS OF NEW ENGLANDERS HAVE BEEN TRAINED IN CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND ARE PREPARED TO JOIN KEHLER AND CORNER IN RESISTING ANY EVICTION ATTEMPTS THE IRS PLANS TO MAKE.

CCS is chaired by Pam Solo. Other CCS initiators include historian James MacGregor Burns, economist John Kenneth Galbraith, *Texas Observer* publisher Ronnie Dugger, Harvard professor Everett Mendelsohn, and IPIS codirector Paul Walker.

The debut of CCS, whose "Call to Common Security" has the endorsement of 40 national organizations, comes on the heels of IPIS's two-

Forsberg, director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, briefed President Bush, Secretary of State Baker, and others at Camp David just before the Malta summit.

She reports that she was invited "not only as the director of the Institute, but also as a representative of a wide swath of public opinion: the arms control community, the peace movement,



IDDS's FORSBERG WITH PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH AT CAMP DAVID.

week workshop on common security held in December in East and West Germany. The sessions included young analysts from throughout Europe, the USSR, and the U.S. to explore the demilitarization of Europe.

Among their conclusions: superpower troop withdrawals from Europe are likely to proceed more rapidly than was assumed only a few weeks before the group convened in December. "Soviet troops are quickly wearing out their welcome," says Walker. "They'll continue to withdraw and discharge them throughout 1990."

Another Boston-area organization recently made headway with "alternative defense" concepts. Randall

and all who seek to replace East-West confrontation with joint action on the environment and other issues."

Forsberg was there with five other experts in the fourth of six pre-Malta briefings. The two-hour session, which addressed the future of East-West relations and arms control issues, was the only briefing not stocked by Sovietologists.

"Bush made an effort to reach out to the mainstreams of public opinion," Forsberg told *Nuclear Times*, "and I was impressed by the amount of time he put into these sessions. The peace movement was underrepresented, but it's also true that something like this would never have happened in the Reagan years."

GREENHOUSE THERMIDOR

A flap in the scientific world, eerily similar to the mid-1980s fracas over "Star Wars," is developing over the greenhouse effect.

Typical of the dispute is a widely circulated letter to President Bush from meteorologists Richard Lindzen and Jerome Namias, contending that "current forecasts of global warming for the 21st century are so inaccurate and fraught with uncertainty as to be useless to policy makers."

This backlash is more than a tempest in a scientific tea-

pot. In December, a page-one story in the *New York Times* and the cover story of *Forbes* brought the fracas into the open. And, claims *Science* magazine writer Leslie Roberts, the greenhouse skeptics are welcomed in the White House and may be responsible for U.S. inaction on the issue.

The counterattack looks suspiciously political at root. Though some skeptics like Lindzen and Namias are respected scientists, they are not greenhouse specialists and apparently have done none of the computer modeling necessary for accurate forecasting.

EARTH DAY 1990

Twenty years ago, some 20 million Americans turned out for thousands of events around the country to make the first Earth Day a smash. Now Denis Hayes, the day's originator, is putting together Earth Day 1990 for Americans to take action to protect the environment and teach a new generation about our endangered biosphere.

On April 22, cities, towns, and campuses will be filled with events and exhibits. Earth Day activities can be organized locally (see Resources on page 56). Hayes and his cohorts are offering something for everyone:

- Participants will be asked to sign a pledge to honor the environment when they vote, purchase, consume, and invest.
- Corporate conduct will be spotlighted: managers will be urged to adopt the Valdez Principles, aimed to improve corporate treatment of the environment. And colleges will be audited by student activists for waste disposal, pesticide use, and energy and water consumption.
- School children will participate through lesson plans that will also help educate parents. An "environmental evaluation" of the home will help families make responsible changes in the household.
- The Global Cities Project will show municipalities how to undertake recycling, ride sharing, conservation, and tree planting projects.
- Concerts, religious observances, teach-ins, and other events similar to 1970's will occur, but the 1990 version will be more somber than the counterculture bash of two decades ago. For good reason: the problems are worsening more rapidly than anyone then imagined. Earth Day 1990 is a good idea whose time has come—again. ■

Others are more blatant. *Forbes* accused "greens" of "using the greenhouse effect to stop unfettered market-based" growth. An influential report was authored by Robert Jastrow and two other scientists last seen attacking opponents of President Reagan's Star Wars fantasy. They recommend a "do-nothing" policy on global warming until there is irrefutable evidence of the greenhouse thesis.

"There is a consensus within the community of atmospheric scientists that global warming is a serious problem," says Howard Ris, executive director of the Union of Concerned Scientists, which has undertaken a major program on energy policy and climate change. "Even the utilities and oil companies acknowledge there's a problem."

"It's hard to know what Jastrow is up to; going against the grain certainly generates publicity." And, apparently, White House attention.

Climatologists always note the uncertainties in predictions. But scientists caution that some measures should be taken now given the probability of warming.

"Energy efficiency makes sense in its own right," Ris explains. "The skeptics are not only quibbling over the science, but claim that measures to reduce carbon dioxide will cost too much. But most of us suggest doing things that don't cost a lot and produce other benefits—higher fuel standards for cars, for example, to 45 m.p.g. by the year 2000, or appliance efficiency standards."

However reasonable, such advice is not acceptable to President Bush. The admini-

stration has stonewalled serious attempts to deal with global warming throughout its first year (just as it has clung to the discredited Star Wars program). Apparently, the mandarins of science did not vacate the Oval Office with Ronald Reagan.

THE YEAR IN CONGRESS

Just about everywhere else, 1989 was an exceptional year of change and renewal, but in Congress it was business as usual. Although there were some minor victories for peace, human rights, and environmental agendas, the overall record of the 101st Congress was poor. Leadership woes—the demise of Speaker Jim Wright, in particular—may help explain the desultory session, but it can't completely account for the lack of initiative or courage.

A rundown of the "highlights":

Central America. A bipartisan agreement to provide "nonmilitary" funds for the *contras* was reached in March, and in October an additional \$9 million was appropriated to aid the opponents of the Sandinistas in the February 1990 elections. Military aid to El Salvador—\$85 million for fiscal year (FY) 1990—was approved despite the March '89 victory of the right-wing ARENA party. In November, following the murder of six priests, efforts to withhold \$25 million of the aid were rebuffed in the House (215-194), after Bush labeled the move by Rep. David Obey (D-WI) "absolutely unacceptable."

Eastern Europe. While West Germany responded to

Solidarity's victory in Poland with more than \$2 billion in aid, the administration proposed a miserly \$125 million for Hungary and Poland. Congress upped that to only \$740 million, despite Lech Walesa's stirring speech to a joint session.

Star Wars. For the first time, Congress actually cut the appropriation for SDI from its previous year: \$3.8 billion for FY90, down from \$4.1 billion. The Bush request for FY90 was \$4.9 billion. The House, led by Charles Bennett (D-FL), voted only \$3.1 billion, but the Senate's higher figure—almost \$4 billion—was more persuasive. However, Congress prohibited space tests that would violate the ABM Treaty, tests that Bush, like Reagan before him, favors.

ICBMs. MX missiles, in the endless search for a basing mode, are likely to end up on the railroads. Congress tepidly endorsed the "rail garrison" mode, halving the administration's request for funds to \$1.2 billion and limiting deployment to 50 missiles. The single-warhead Midgetman was saved from extinction but was granted only \$100 million for development.

Stealth Bomber. The White House got its way on this one. Northrop's B-2, 136 of which are slated for production by decade's end, was roundly criticized but finally approved with only minor restrictions. Some experts fear the ultimate cost will be more than \$700 million per plane (it's now \$530 million); others expect glitches *à la* the lemon B-1 bomber. But Congress blinked, and approved nearly the entire request—\$4.3 billion.

Foreign Aid. For the first time, a foreign aid spending bill was vetoed; Bush objected to \$15 million for a U.N. family planning agency and a provision saying he could not use these funds for illegal purposes.

Nominations. John Tower's rejection as secretary of defense eclipsed others who were approved and are just as bad (like Manuel Lujan at Interior). In November, activists gummed up the nomination of Nuclear Regulatory Commission heavy Victor Stello to head Department of Energy's nuclear weapons production complex; it will be taken up again early this year.

Clean Air. Despite growing alarm about the polluted atmosphere, Congress failed to rewrite the 1970 Clean Air Act. Rep. Philip Sharp (D-IN) delayed action in subcommittee by trying to get a more lenient deal on acid rain for midwestern industry. There was progress on auto emission rules, however, and Congress is expected to pass a bill this year. Action to contain chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), which eat the ozone layer, met a similar fate: CFC use faces new taxation, but a plan to phase out CFC use by the year 2000 failed.

Oil Spill. The March 24 oil spill from the tanker Exxon Valdez and Exxon's bottomless arrogance stirred both chambers to lift federal caps from tough oil-spill liability laws in states, some 19 of which have no limits to corporate liability. A new fund of \$1 billion will be created for cleanups. House-Senate conferees are expected to work out differences between the two versions early this year.



CRISIS

ACTIVISTS VOICE

THEIR HOPES FOR

A NEW ERA

FACILITATED BY

ANDREA AYVAZIAN

AND MICHAEL KLADE



World events at the end of the 1980s left peace activists and the general public both breathless and speechless. Within a matter of months, China was convulsed by mammoth demonstrations and bloody repression, Eastern Europe experienced an unprecedented political transformation, and the United States invaded Panama. And 1989 was just one year in a decade of sweeping change. As suggested by Richard Falk, "The 1980s have been a period of exceptional political creativity, probably ranking in their eventual his-

torical significance with such cataclysmic upheavals as the American, French, and Russian revolutions."

Given the dramatic sweep of events, it is hardly surprising that the American peace movement experienced a loss of focus at the end of the decade. Moreover, the apparent progress in nuclear arms control significantly eroded the sense of urgency that had gripped peace activists early in the decade, and produced a noticeable falling off in funding and volunteer support. The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, which mobilized thousands and thousands of peace activists in the early 1980s and provided a shared national agenda, has given way to a more diffuse movement with many issues competing for activists' attention.

Social movements are always in a state of flux, experiencing periodic bursts of energy followed by more introspective periods in which the groundwork is laid for the next period of growth. Clearly, the American peace movement is currently in a state of transition—seeking both to assess the

meaning of recent world events and to identify the issues that will merit its concern and attention in the 1990s.

This process of reassessment is a natural and necessary step in the life of our movement, and one that will lead to greater clarity in the years ahead. To facilitate this process, in November *Nuclear Times* brought together a group of nine activists from a cross section of U.S. groups working on peace, justice, and environmental issues to examine the state of the peace movement and to discuss future directions for our work. Each began with a statement. Part one of the edited transcript follows; the second part will appear in the next issue of *Nuclear Times*.

Roz Spier, Associate Director of Connecticut SANE/FREEZE: Campaign for Global Security:

1980 to 1985, the greatest sense of urgency among the upper-middle and middle class was attached to the nuclear arms race. Today the attention of upper- and middle-class groups, including students on college campuses, is shifting to the wreckage of the Reagan administration: what's happening in our cities, AIDS, drug abuse, and the increased destruction of the environment.

For Connecticut SANE/FREEZE, a grassroots organization that originally was devoted exclusively to working on the nuclear arms race, there have been some immediate consequences. What we feel most is the decline of heavy-duty volunteers. In local groups, the activity level is down and it's hard to find people to take leadership. The weaker groups have folded. There has also been a decline in income from a high in 1986.

Attention to social issues depends on a very delicate balance between fear and hope. The fear of nuclear exchange that was whipped up by President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig in the early 1980s has largely subsided, for good reasons. Fear can also be blunted by disinformation, and we've seen that. Hope, on the other hand, depends on appropriate vehicles for action; the nuclear freeze proposal was that vehicle for a long time, and had a reasonable expectation of success. Hope can be shriveled by the apparent strength of the opposition, and it can be drained away by the

experience of failure. I met a former Freeze activist who all but sneered at me, "Stopped any nuclear weapons systems lately?"

The positive things that have happened in the past ten years include the tremendous growth in the professionalism of the peace movement, and the increased institutionalization of the work of the peace movement in churches and schools and other enduring institutions, and I see that throughout Connecticut.

There are three new things I see that are very encouraging. One is connections, one is coalitions, and one is internationalism. People are turning from a tight focus on so-called single issues to articulating the connections between them, and the peace economy project of SANE/FREEZE is a conspicuous example. Coalitions grow rather naturally out of a union of concerns. The groups I work with seem to be increasingly secure in their individual identity and quite willing now to join coalitions that they might not have been five years ago.

I also see growing internationalism. All sorts of people are going to Eastern Europe. Many of the people who went to Russia went on to Central Asia and Siberia, places we hardly knew existed ten or twelve years ago. In communities throughout Connecticut, people are going to Central America, either with sister city projects or with Witness for Peace.

Jeffrey Richardson, Director of the Pittsburgh Jobs with Peace Campaign: The work of peace and justice activists today takes place within a civilization crisis, a dying world order, which forces all of us to make some choices between imitating that dying system or liberating ourselves through the creation of a new one. Perhaps we face today one of the greatest challenges in world history: the forces of oppression and exploitation are threatening us and the environment that sustains us. The problems are global in scope.

There are three areas of decline in the peace and justice community. One is the failure to deal with the movement at the grassroots level. Two is the failure to forthrightly address the racism, clas-

sism, sexism, and other "isms" that are part of the movement, as they are in society as a whole. And three is the lack of clear goals, long-range planning, and a sense of program.

The movement for peace and justice is, in most cases, more form than content. I think of a movement as a powerful organized reality that moves people



and moves through people in communities all across this nation, involving poor people, African-Americans, Latinos, Asians, Caucasians, the working class, unemployed, single heads of households, despairing youth, the homeless. However, often the movement has overstepped those people, gone around, or not included them. But you can't move without a base.

Second, the movement for peace and justice has not effectively addressed internal inequities. As an African American, I am sometimes repulsed by the vulgar racism and classism of this movement. Poorer people and people of color are frequently viewed as objects to be molded and shuffled about to meet the political ego needs of middle-class or wealthy whites. We serve the function and pose for the pictures, but our voices are stifled. If we call for sheer power, we are often driven out of the very movement which claimed to represent justice, equality, and peace. This must cease.

Finally, the peace and justice movement seems to have no real program. We need vision to think through the big questions of global peace, national and international economic equality, and justice. But we also need concrete local linkages, the steps to reach our goals. Some of the failure to develop effective organizing initiatives is the result of inadequate or nonexistent long-range planning. Without such planning, our

days may be filled with activity but lack progress toward a new economic order or power to control and humanize the institutions that have used us. If we don't plan for a new society, how can we replace it?

Fortunately, there are also rays of hope. I am pleased with conferences that I have attended over the last two years where there is a massive recognition of the need to return to basic grassroots organizing and door-to-door house meetings around a host of issues. The movement is most powerful when, through our joint work, we acknowledge the complexity and interrelatedness of the world's current situation. I'm happy to see a recognition of the need to develop basic skills in the movement, which are the tools of our work.

I am also pleased by the new and diverse leadership at the meetings I have attended recently: people of color from most of the nation's communities, women in greater positions, people of color as directors. Those changes are important, but the push must continue; the barriers must be removed.

Finally, there are a few more examples of organizations that are working, to use Randy Kehler's word, with "intentionality," to develop democratic organizations at the local level. I am inspired by these hardworking and committed leaders, who represent the real movement.

VIRGINIA BARON, DIRECTOR OF PUBLICATIONS FOR THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION AND EDITOR OF *FELLOWSHIP*:

A week ago, a homeless woman said some things to me that seem pertinent to today's discussion. The woman is an artist and a writer who publishes a monthly newsletter for and about homeless people in New York City. Because she's been unable to find a church or printer in the city willing to back the paper or place printing facilities at her disposal, she travels to a church in a northern suburb where she can use their rather old-fashioned mimeographing equipment. The woman is a squatter in a building on Manhattan's Lower East Side. I had arranged to meet her to see her artwork with a view to using it in the December issue of *Fellowship*. The woman was

obviously feeling pressured and tired, as she sets high standards for herself.

She was hand printing 5,000 issues of her newsletter. But I had selected several drawings that I thought we might use, assuring her that they would be returned to her after the issue was printed, along with a small fee for permitting us to print them. "Look, you may be a perfectly nice person," she said tensely. "But I have no reason to believe you. I have no use for anybody in the peace movement, no matter what organization they come from."

"What has the peace movement ever done for us? Whenever we've asked people to join us in protests or do anything to help us they never show up. I don't trust you anymore than I would trust anybody else from any peace organization. Since my friend asked me to let you use my work, I'll do it, but I'm not happy about it. Other so-called religious or peace groups have ripped me off in the past." I don't think she's alone in her feelings. Poor people's confidence in us, if they ever had any, is at a low these days. Whether it has declined or whether it actually existed is hard to say.

The following ways in which the peace movement seems to have declined and grown has been developed from interviews I've conducted with several members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation staff and with one member of War Resisters' League. The list represents the thinking of peace activists whose ages and experience cover a wide range.

On the decline side of the ledger are interest in Central American and South African issues, a leveling off of U.S.-USSR work, and a waning interest in civil rights and women's rights. The Freeze as a concept was considered totally irrelevant today. Somebody commented on how unfortunate it was to have that word attached to an organization's name, now that Gorbachev has made the term obsolete. There is a lack of interest in disarmament issues because the public believes recent agreements have solved the problem.

On the growth side, issues thought to be gaining more attention are housing and homelessness, civilian-based

defense, environmental threats, animal rights, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe. It was thought that more young people are getting involved, that the movement is making more connections between peace and justice issues, and that there is some positive envisioning of the future. The peace studies departments in colleges and universities are increasing. Grassroots networks have been growing, but so has apathy and passivity among the largest sector of the population.

All of us in the nonviolent movement have had our spirits buoyed by the growth in nonviolent actions throughout the world. We're amazed to see the acceptance of nonviolence as a desired and chosen form of action and protest in most national movements. We're bemused that Americans still don't seem to understand how much the world has changed, that they're so busy cheering what they consider to be capitalism's victory over communism that they haven't taken note of the sweeping antiwar feelings rising around the globe.

What are the reasons for the decline of interest in the above-mentioned issues? We, as a movement, seem to have great trouble sustaining long-term commitments. Our attention span is short. We jump on and off bandwagons, influenced too much by the media, which seem to drive us in whatever direction they choose. We ride on the shittails of other movements when they achieve success, such as environmental groups. We go where the money is, just as the rest of the country does. If there's no more money for disarmament, we jump to another issue more appealing to our public, upon whom we depend. We have not learned to plan, especially for the long haul. We can mobilize, but we can't organize.

Too often we're a cheering squad building negative momentum instead of leading the way. Without our favorite enemy, Ronald Reagan, we're stranded on our high ground, not knowing how to regain the interest of the crowd. When there's positive momentum, as was let loose by Gorbachev and Reagan, and now with Gorbachev and Bush, we stand on the sidelines, jaws hanging open with nothing to say.

Some organizations have been successful in appealing to the popular culture, such as Amnesty International and Greenpeace. This has probably influenced the rise in campus activity. In other parts of the world there are mass marches, civil disobedience, tax resistance, boycotts—all superb examples of active nonviolence. Meanwhile, back in the U.S., we watch in awe, wondering what we can do to regain for ourselves, as a people, a sense a power over our destiny, as others appear to be doing.

MARY BUTTERS, DIRECTOR OF THE WATCH IN MOSCOW, IDAHO: From the small rural towns in the West where I am called an organizer, I find myself one of many people, in true western fashion, riding with the pollution posse. We are called the Watch, members of the Palouse-Clearwater Environmental Institute. Groups like ours are sprouting up all over rural America, resisting assaults on our lives created by the production, use, and dumping of deadly substances. But something different has begun to make itself felt: a movement that is community based, pulling together people who have been poisoned. These are people who know firsthand about plutonium, toxic waste, and the contamination of their drinking water, as opposed to traditional environmentalists concerned about instream water flows, or national peace groups who talk about ratification of the SALT II Treaty. Peace for us is an acronym meaning People for Equality and A Clean Environment.

Over the years, mainstream environmentalists have relied on lobbying, litigation, and science, creating a kind of technical peace-environmental expert able to use government acronyms, facts and figures, and pieces of legislation. I call it toxic talk; it stifles discussion. Two-and-a-half years ago, the editorial page editor of Idaho's second-largest newspaper wrote a column about my work entitled, "Somewhere She Lost Her Native Tongue." He said that I no longer spoke English because I'd been fighting bureaucracy. "She has been arguing with the Feds for so long that she has been infused with their jargon and can no longer speak anything else." Toxic talk intimidates the very people who, in large numbers, are out there

and need to stand up and sound off.

Suppose I'm a victim of radiation; I grew up in Utah, downwind of the Nevada test site, where atomic blasts covered us with radioactive dust. I suffer; I feel very alone. All the big-name professional peace and environmental groups are meeting frequently to strategize how to stop the SIS and the NPR, acronyms for the factories where nuclear weapons are manufactured. I need to talk about my feelings, my emotions, and I need support. Everyone there is saying ERDA, RCRA, programmatic EIS, the 2010 Report, the Clean Air Act, vitrification, and vaporization. My health is talked about in terms of studies that will take years and cost millions of dollars. So even there I am still alone.

Across our country, poisoning for profit escalates. More people get sick or die. Most do not say, "They are killing me," but, "I am sick now." We begin to stand together, seeing the connections that bind us: the same poisons, corporate citizens, regulatory denial, and interests who profit from the poisons and the poisoning.

I am now meeting with other community organizers. I've been in Tennessee with a woman dying because Louisiana Pacific is killing her. I sang songs with a coal miner in Virginia who helped organize a strike. I've cried with a mother from Ohio who unknowingly gave her child uranium from their well water. I've been with Cherokees from Oklahoma where Kerr-McGee spreads radioactive waste on the land, calling it fertilizer. I work with farmers and their families in Idaho who drink well water laced with farm chemicals.

Gandhi said that if you want something really important to be done, you must not merely satisfy the reason, you must use the heart also. The appeal to reason is more to the head, but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering; it opens the inner understanding.

People who have been personally affected by the arms race—by toxic pollution and human injustice—have the strongest, most motivating voice on these issues. We're beginning to stand together, joined by families and friends and others in our communities. Voicing our pent-up feelings does not

require expertise. Our numbers have grown, one by one. We identify who poisons us in a tangible fashion: this community is poisoned by this company, and these people suffer. We build friendships to help build our spirits. We have fun. We realize we're not alone. We talk in our own language without embarrassment. We build hope and community. Establishment environmentalists needn't be embarrassed by our lack of scientific knowledge.

In order to stop the poisoning of our bodies, we need to clean up the pollution of our minds. We need to find and help others—people who suffer, people who cry, people who are afraid—and that will be our final common ground. Our community group, the Watch, has reached out and joined up with farmers poisoned by the chemicals Monsanto sells them. Folks looking to join up with the movement for ecological and human justice are tired of social change professionals and experts in science. We want to work on issues that affect our communities and the qualities of our lives in a straightforward, simple fashion, speaking in our native tongue.

NICK CARTER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL SANE/FREEZE: CAMPAIGN FOR GLOBAL SECURITY: First, I want to say we're growing up and I'm optimistic. We've been through our early adolescence, a period of naïveté and enthusiasm and eagerness, and we've bumped headlong into a cynical, difficult world and had our dreams popped. But we're growing up, just as a young child moves through that period of confrontation with the real world and begins to recapture her dreams and is able to now have the tools to work toward the accomplishment of those dreams.

There are hard realities of having been coopted by Washington over the last five or ten years, shifting public opinion, and inconsistent leadership within the movement. It has been a difficult time. I know of at least six national peace organizations and scores of locals that were in existence five years ago that are no longer so, and at least another four national organizations that are on the brink. I know of a host of analyses that talk about how naïve we were, and some who believe we still are.

Folks who once were eagerly involved in peace work have now shifted their alliances, mostly it seems to environmental work, and with good cause. And many funding dollars have gone with them. There's a feeling that peace is at hand in many quarters, and plenty of negative analysis to feed the hungriest of our critics. But while the temptation is great to dine with them, I think it would be a grave mistake to do so.

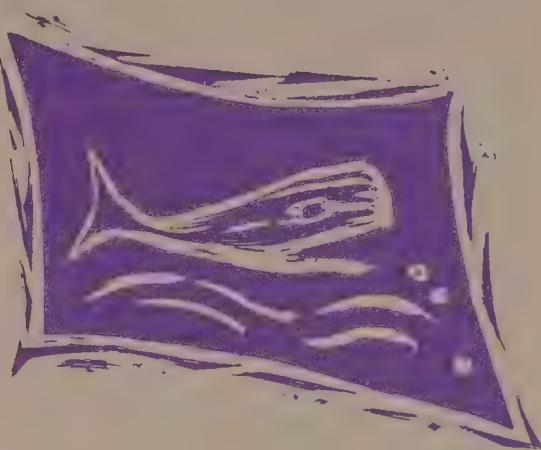
I look at a couple of indicators; first off, public opinion. It's interesting that through all of the failure that's associated with the Freeze, the American public still supports the idea of a nuclear weapons freeze beyond the 80 percentile. In this day and age, when peace is at hand, the Freeze movement has pointed to and exposed the question of military spending in a way we've never been able to in the past. And interestingly, it now puts all of us hip-deep in the mainstream after having spent years at the periphery.

If anything, people want peace more now than they did ten years ago. Many of the locals have changed, or changed their names, but those that are there are committed. We're also seeing some interesting areas of rapid growth. While our growth rate may be flat in Massachusetts, we can hardly keep pace with the growth in Texas, Georgia, Tennessee, Hawaii, and Alaska.

We are far more mature now. We've learned some important lessons about the political process, about being co-opted and tricked by pieces of legislation and superficial gestures. We've also learned how to diversify our funding base. And we're getting more sophisticated in our analysis and beginning to deal with where the power really lies. We not only know our issue, but we're able to begin to see the world in a different way. We're not just marching in with a laundry list of which weapons systems we're against, but beginning to move to another level of analysis of what we're for.

My second analogy is one of the boat. People have said that the peace movement is sinking or sunk, and I reject that altogether. This boat that's been launched in the search for peace and justice in this world is a fine ship. It's still afloat. We've been through some

difficult storms, and in the midst of it the crew didn't always know how to set the sail. And we managed to find ourselves in irons, where either the winds weren't blowing our way or we couldn't catch them. And people mistook that for the boat sinking. Not at all. As I look at it from my perspective, it seems that things are getting organized on the



deck, people are sharing the load, the sails are getting set the right way, and I'm pretty excited about where the boat's going. There's certainly reason for caution, but I think the opportunities are greater than they've been in a long time.

BRUCE BIRCHARD, NATIONAL COORDINATOR OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE DISARMAMENT PROGRAM: The peace movement, however we define it, has a history of going through cycles of gaining strength in crisis situations and then seeing that strength decline. I remember, in 1975, organizing what was a fairly good-sized demonstration of people against the B-1 bomber and in favor of peace conversion in Philadelphia. A reporter from the *Inquirer* covered it as a human-interest story. Her key question to me afterward was, "So is what we're seeing the last, weak hurrah of the antiwar movement?" And I said, "No, what you're seeing is the beginning of the next movement."

But the 1970s were a time in which the B-1 bomber and peace conversion campaign was indeed one of the first efforts, after the almost total preoccupation with the war in Indochina, to build a new peace movement. Clearly we've come off the high point of protest of the early 1980s. But the structures have been built, the organizations and the level of general public awareness

and concern all have been pushed up several notches. Now there are hundreds of groups across a wide range of constituencies, and we're so much stronger at the grassroots level. I'm sure that newspaper reporters are asking the same kinds of questions they asked me in the 1970s: is this the dying whimpers of the Freeze movement? And I'm sure, in a few more years, there will be another crisis, and at that point we'll be a much more mass political movement, and very visible again.

The peace movement is like a whale; it suddenly breaches and everybody sees it and says, "Oh, my God," and then, of course, it sinks under. The rest of the public figures it's gone, but we're really underneath. We're feeding and eating all those little plankton.

What's AFSC doing? We're much more focused on third world conflicts than on nuclear weapons. I look around at regional offices and see more focus on the relationship between foreign policy issues and economic issues at home and abroad, and also on issues of sovereignty and self-determination, both for countries abroad—third world and European—and for peoples within the United States. AFSC offices are responding to local conditions and opportunities: Frances Crowe in Western Massachusetts is taking on the University of Massachusetts for its biological warfare research; in Colorado, they're still working on Rocky Flats; in Portland, Oregon, they're working with Belauans to support the struggling people in Belau to keep U.S. nuclear weapons and bases out of their little island.

In the national office, out of our interest in the common security approach, we've focused on the question of foreign and military presence in foreign bases. We did a speaking tour of nine women from countries where there are foreign military bases in Europe, Latin America, and the Pacific, including a black woman from the very militarized southern United States. All of this is part of a struggle in favor of a withdrawal and demobilization of everybody's troops, at least getting them out of other people's countries. There's a focus within AFSC on the Pacific and East Asia, an area we've too long ne-

glected in favor of Europe. AFSC is also continuing its programs in the Middle East, South Africa, and Central America.

DAMON MOGLEN, COORDINATOR OF GREENPEACE'S MILITARY NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE CAMPAIGN: Greenpeace's strength, and perhaps one of our weaknesses, is the specificity of the work that we do. Our kind of global orientation toward environmental and nuclear issues seems very specific in some ways. We are also experiencing a staggering growth. In the United States, Greenpeace is growing by 50,000 members a month. New offices will be open in Japan and the Soviet Union. Offices have opened recently in Latin America, and campaign activity is beginning to stretch into Africa and many Asian countries.

I'd like to talk about the arms control and disarmament movement in this country, which I see as perhaps two different movements, moving within the same stream but at different speeds and levels of eddy. We clearly have a visibility problem. We are not perceived as raising a ruckus or forcing a national debate and agenda. The same problems which, three years ago, would have sent a large proportion of the country into paroxysms of fear and anger are still happening every day. But something has changed to make us less vocal and less visible.

What's changed is that the nuclear issue is not being perceived now as a front-line issue. The INF Treaty is an interesting example of this phenomenon. INF was vaunted by so many in the arms-control and peace community as being this wonderful step that we all said is the right step—to be followed by the left step, followed by the next step. And as far as any of us can tell, we've gotten bogged down. We were not able to articulate the next-step issues. In a strange way, a lost momentum from Mr. Reagan's administration appears to be overtaking us.

Inasmuch as START is the next step, I think we've got a warm, fuzzy feeling and a mild sense of familiarity about it, but we're not really thinking about what this means for our work within our respective organizations. What are the obvious latch-ons to major disarm-

ment agreements? And what is the obvious next step? Just as the INF Treaty got rid of a minuscule number of weapons, they were immediately replaced with other new weapons within a few months.

We also have a problem of inadequate interaction with the international movement, which is one of the most important ways that we—as local, regional, and national activists—can realize we're part of a global movement which is articulating an antinuclear position.

I would redefine growth as a question about our maturity, because many of us would say that we haven't grown much in this arms control and disarmament movement. But I think there are some very significant indicators of maturity. To go from Mr. Reagan's Evil Empire to a world in which the INF Treaty and START were possible is a remarkable indication of the effectiveness of the antinuclear movement in this country. I think the Freeze has often been discounted, and yet it was the articulation of a message that said to people that we can address this staggering problem in an understandable way. Congresspeople can laugh at us for saying that, but they didn't laugh at the

polls and when they got re-elected.

There has been an increased breadth and depth within the movement, as well as a growing number of arms control and disarmament groups in the 1980s. Some of those groups have

disappeared, but some have coalesced from multiple organizations into a single organization. And the growth of professional organizations within the movement is important in a country, like our own, in which professionalization is seen as such a virtue. That professional organizations have taken up the

banner of nuclear disarmament as part of their professional responsibility is significant. When nuclear abolitionism is attacked as being an idealistic and therefore vapid position, we are able to counter that by pointing to those people who have committed themselves, not only spiritually and intellectually, but also professionally to this issue. That's a very powerful indication that the movement is here to stay, because it has been adopted as part of the professional attitude.

The downfall of the Department of Energy and its inability to do its dirty business in nuclear and military facilities without the public looking through every single chink in every single fence is a real indication of the effectiveness of our public information and congressional lobbying campaigns. And weapons programs like the B-2, Trident, and Star Wars are no longer programs that can simply be conducted in a secretive way. Instead, these programs are being seen from a public perspective which has drawn off the lid of secrecy. This is very much a part of the work of the 1980s, and I hope it will become part of the work of the 1990s.

MICHAEL KLADE, DIRECTOR OF THE FIVE COLLEGE PROGRAM IN PEACE AND WORLD SECURITY STUDIES: I think this is a time in which there are some things moving us forward and others that are holding us back. One thing that's holding us back is the "U.S.-government-is-the-bad-guy" attitude that was so strong in the early 1980s. That the problem was the U.S. government, it was Ronald Reagan, it was the White House, it was Washington—we're very set on that. We're a protest movement that likes to protest Washington, but I think it makes us unable to see injustices and wars that happen elsewhere that are not America's fault.

That's connected to the second thing that I think is holding us back, what I might call East-Westism, that the problem is the U.S. and the Russians, and if we sat down with the Russians, with people of good will on both sides, we could solve the problems of the world. If white men from our side and white men from their side sit down, the problems will go away.

What we fail to see is the scale of



violence and warfare and deprivation that's growing on a worldwide basis. I do feel that violence outside of the East-West conflict is growing, and the poorest people are the ones who are being victimized. As many as half a million people died in the Sudan and Ethiopia last year, which is more than Hiroshima and Nagasaki put together. And I have yet to see anyone in the peace movement say, "Hey, people are dying on a scale that we should do something about."

What's moving us forward? Internationalism is something I see a lot of, with young people in particular. Students are very interested in the issues of famine and hunger and underdevelopment and gender on a global basis. Students want to go to Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Africa, and the rainforests to see what's going on, and to help if they can.

Another area that's pushing us forward is the new thinking that's developing. There's a reservoir of new ideas coming forward that can contribute to the search for peace worldwide. The growth of peace studies in colleges and universities, and increasingly peace and conflict resolution education in secondary schools and below could also make a big difference.

ANDREA AYVAZIAN, TRAINER AND CONSULTANT BASED IN NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS: Some of the decline in the peace and justice movement in this country today is somewhat the result of being the victim of our own success. We're suffering somewhat from having succeeded, and I don't hear enough people in the movement pointing to the changes that we helped create. The 1980s were a period of tremendous growth and dramatic changes in the world, some of which we had absolutely nothing to do with, and some of which we just applauded, but some of which we had impact and an influence on.

Roz talked about the delicate balance of fear and hope. We helped reduce the level of fear when we sent delegation after delegation to the Soviet Union and to Central America. We prevented an invasion of Nicaragua. Of course, we had nothing to do with Mikhail Gorbachev rising to power, but we helped shape his agenda. We've had a tremen-

dous impact on national and international history.

We're in a period of some decline, because no movement in history—look back on the women's movement, the labor movement, the gay rights movement—knows what to do when they win. People know about the struggle, the protest, and the fight, but they don't know about winning.

Although we were talking about decline, in my experience of traveling around the country, there is still tremendous activity in this nation. There are a lot of groups doing wonderful work, it's just that nothing is coordinated anymore. There's this group doing Middle East work, and this group doing something on apartheid, and this group working frantically on weapons facilities. It's like a huge orchestra and all the sections are playing different melodies, but they are playing. Or they're tuning up.

The image I'm carrying to the peace and justice movement in this country today is a huge map of the U.S. with separate spinning tops all over it. None of the tops are spinning together, but they're all spinning. Sometimes they bump into each other, and they either both spin or they collapse, but there is a lot of activity.

A few of you said we've lost our visibility, but I don't think so. I think we've lost it in the *Washington Post*, the *Boston Globe*, the *New York Times*—we've lost it on that level. We are not on the front page of anything except the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *Des Moines Register*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Local papers are covering peace and justice activity. I was at the Peacemaking on the Prairie conference in Davenport, Iowa that drew people from four midwestern states; two hundred people, lots of activity, and we were beautifully covered by the media.

I also don't think our movement is fickle or jumps on and off bandwagons. I think it's a movement with a remarkable level of stick-to-itiveness. A real backbone in this country are people of faith who are doing peace and justice work, who are committed to it for the next 20 years and have done it for the last 20 years. I would not characterize us as a movement that's fickle.

What is a bit of a problem in the movement today is that there is no shared national focus. I think people wish it were the time of the early days of the Freeze again, when 1100 local groups nationwide were working on the same campaign. It was a remarkable time of energy and activity. My guess is that there isn't going to be a second coming of the Freeze movement for years to come, and some of us long for it. It was nice knowing that when you were going door to door with your Freeze petitions in your hand in 1982 that people were doing it in all 50 states.

More than a movement in decline, we're a movement in transition, trying to figure out how to respond to a very rapidly changing world. We are changing and reassessing what our boundaries are, what our work is, and how we promote leadership and programs that we believe in.

VIRGINIA BARON: The Fellowship of Reconciliation is celebrating its 75th year, and from my memory of the peace movement in this country, it started with the Quakers. When talking about the peace movement, we have to keep that in focus. The peace movement is still going to be here—if the country is—100 years from now. It didn't start with the Freeze and it's not going to end with it; the peace movement is here forever.

BRUCE BIRCHARD: I really agree with Andrea's point about the success we have had. That isn't to say that we didn't also fail. Like so many things in life, there is a lot of complexity here. We failed in our very specific demands, even the rather simple one of the Freeze, but we won in terms of setting the agenda and forcing the people in power to respond. It's terrible that we can't win faster, and that we can't get our specific demands met. We've never been able to actually take power and negotiate the agreements ourselves, and my guess is that we probably never will.

The last thing that Ronald Reagan and George Bush are going to say is, "By gosh, you folks really forced us to change." The *New York Times* is not going to say that either. That maintains the myth that grassroots people do not

(continued on page 52)

DEADLY DEFENSE Military Radioactive Landfills

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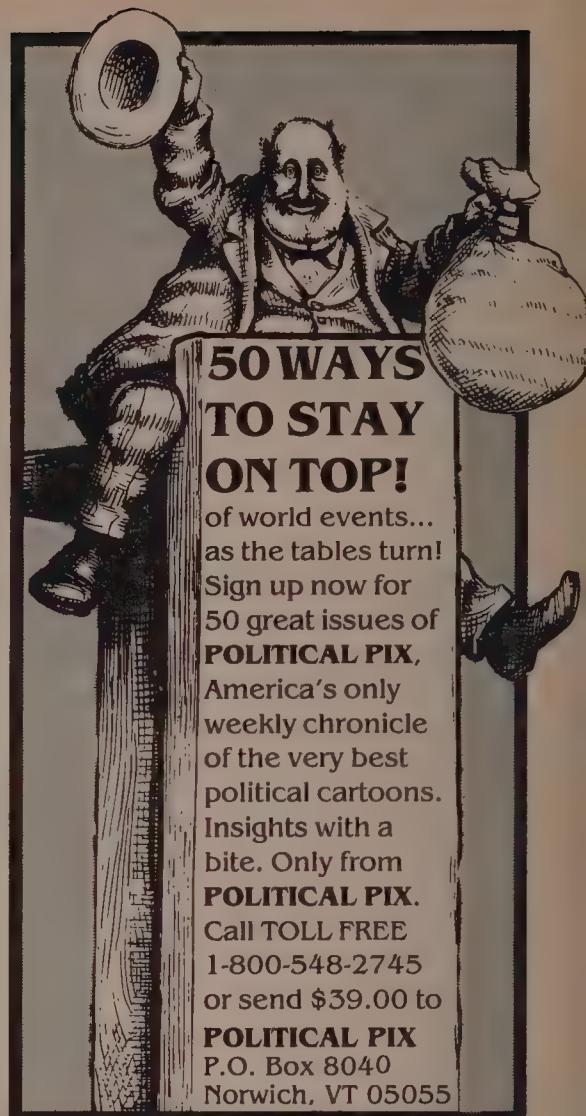
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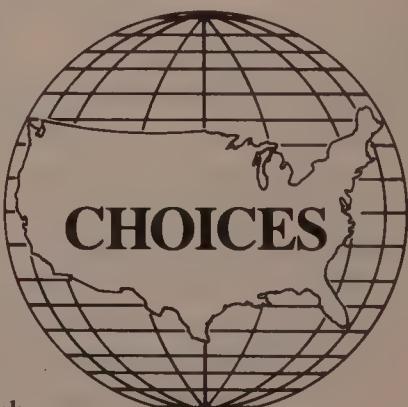
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Last Days of the Cold War?

by James Clotfelter

A

mericans follow international events the way they watch a television series—say, a cop show. They tune in from time to time to see what is happening. On television, there are the good guys and the bad guys—or, in the age of the antihero, the pretty good guys and the pretty sleazy guys. Television writers assume that their audience finds a formula plot reassuring, so the characters tend to do the same thing every week.

Imagine that one week the bad guys start acting like good guys. The viewers think they're ready for this—the bad guys are trying to pull a fast one. The next week, however, the same thing happens, and the week after. By this time, not only are viewers confused (when are the bad guys going to show their true colors again?), but the good cops are confused as well. And this is what's occurring in U.S. opinion about the Soviet Union today.

The roles in America's long-running "cop show" were filled shortly after World War II: the Americans and their West European allies trying to contain the world's bully, Stalin's Soviet Union, and its docile East European puppets, with China, Japan, and the rest of the world cast as extras. Despite fluctuations in interest, for most of 40 years Americans wanted and feared the same things.

- They wanted security. Like other peoples, Americans have wanted to be safe from the threat of physical attack or political and military intimidation.

- They feared the Soviet Union. As early as 1945, as the United States and its Soviet ally were defeating Germany and Japan, the USSR was distrusted by many Americans. By 1947 and '48, that attitude was widespread, with only short-

lived improvements in the Soviet image during later periods of optimism about detente.

- They feared nuclear war. Especially from the beginning of U.S. strategic vulnerability in the late 1950s, Americans have feared nuclear war. They have never believed such wars are winnable in a traditional sense.

- They regarded the United States as the greatest power, or one of the two great powers, in the world. Even after many Americans came to concede, in the years after the Vietnam war, that there were limits to U.S. power, America was regarded as "number one."

- They regarded domestic problems, especially economic problems, as more important than international problems. Americans' evaluations of whether it was a good time or a bad time, or whether the future

held promise or not, were most commonly linked to economic conditions.

Americans still want security, of course, and they are more interested than ever in domestic problems, but they are reexamining the other parts of their world view in light of the changes they see in the international-affairs cop show. The leader of the bad guys, Mikhail Gorbachev, has persisted so long in acting out of character that many Americans wonder whether they have landed in the middle of a new story.

Euphoric they are not. They still don't trust the Russians the way they would trust their neighbors to pick up the mail while they are out of town. But they think the Russians are people like themselves, people with whom they can deal, people who do not want to blow up the world.

New Soviet Role & New World Order

Public opinion polling of unprecedented quality and quantity has explored the changes up to the eve of the dramatic events of 1989: the cutting of the Iron Curtain, the weakening of Communist control in Eastern Europe, and the

After four decades of seeing the Soviet Union as an enemy, Americans' attitudes are changing swiftly.

Opinion surveys over the last several years have charted this shift, but none has captured its direction.

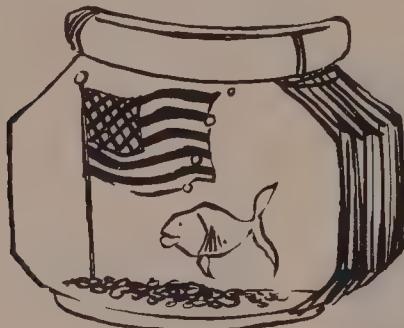
Support for Gorbachev, abhorrence of nuclear weapons, and new definitions of security are emerging as staples of U.S. opinion.

But not all believe the Cold War is over, even as they see a need for new priorities and leadership.



opening of the Berlin Wall.

In the United States, by late 1989, commentators from left and right declared the Cold War over: "we" (i.e., the ideas of democracy and a mixed market economy) had won. The public was not so quick to declare the Cold War over, as pollster Daniel Yankelovich pointed out in *Time* in late November. It will take some months for people to absorb the European news.



What had already happened was that Americans had ceased to fear the Soviets above all else, had come to see the outlines of a new world order based on economic power, increasingly defined security in terms other than military, and increasingly were open to the possibilities of changing U.S. spending priorities.

Some things have not changed, among them Americans' relatively low interest in and knowledge of international affairs. Throughout the 1980s, for example, Americans have remained confused about who was fighting whom, and for what reasons, in Central America (ATS 5). International affairs is the most remote section of the public sphere and for many Americans the entire public sphere has come to be seen as unrelated to their "real world" day-to-day lives (H&S 1).

Particularly during 1987 and early 1988, pollsters found significant alienation from government, pessimism about the future of the country, and anxiety

about problems close to home. These seemed to subside in late 1988, but some surveys in 1989 picked up the same unease, partly stemming from fear that America had ceased to be a world leader. Perhaps the Cold War is over and we "won," but Americans don't sound like winners.

Yet Americans still hold some striking opinions on international affairs, and these show that attitudes are changing. A Yankelovich survey in 1985 showed that 76 percent of Americans believed the Soviet Union was a serious threat to the United States. Within two years, Soviet leader Gorbachev had not only won over President Reagan but had begun to do the same with the American people. Between June and December 1988 the percentage of Americans who viewed the USSR as a serious threat fell from 60 to 45. The number who believed the Soviets were set on world domination fell from 42 to 28 percent (ATS 12).

When Americans were asked to rate a number of countries as allies, neutrals, or enemies, the Soviet Union remained in a low tier with Iraq, Syria, and Vietnam. When Gorbachev was rated in the context of other world leaders, he had higher negative ratings than leaders of traditional U.S. allies, but his positive rating (60%) was higher than all but two world leaders (ATS 6).

The public is cautious, but any time a Soviet leader is placed next to the Pope in a popularity rating, something remarkable has happened.

During 1989 Gorbachev and the Soviet Union continued to be regarded positively. Americans, by 72-21 percent, said "things in the Soviet Union have changed fundamentally, and we will probably see a new relationship between the countries." From a list of "potential threats from abroad" now

and in the year 2000, only 4 percent chose "Soviet aggression in the world" (WPI 2).

The Meaning of Security

In the last three years, Americans have described a world in which new forms of power—primarily economic—have ended the period of dominance by the two military superpowers.

Asked whether Japan or the United States was the world leader in various endeavors, Americans in May 1989 said that the United States led only in military power and a "high standard of living." Japan was seen as the leader in several ways: "an economic power in the world" (60-32%), a "leader in technology" (63-30%), and as a producer of "quality products" (53-33%). By a large margin, Americans also saw Japanese as hard workers with good family values (WPI 2).

At the same time, Americans felt their country was worse than others in stopping the flow of illicit drugs, and no better than others in providing quality education and treating the homeless fairly (H&S 2).

Americans' sense that the standards for world power are changing and that their country is being left behind have important implications for national security. Indeed, Americans are redefining national security. In October 1987, they were asked to choose from six meanings for "the strength of the U.S." Only 14 percent chose "military strength," which ranked behind "the unity of the American people" (26%), "economic strength" (21%), and "setting a moral example for the rest of the world" (16%).

Asked to choose between investing in a strong economy or a strong military, Americans chose the economy by 59-14 percent (with 23% saying "both"). Even when put in explicitly foreign policy terms, Americans chose "strengthening our economy to be more competitive with other countries" by almost 3-to-1 over "containing Soviet expansion" (WPI 1).

Not only do Americans feel uneasy about foreign purchases of U.S. corporations and land, but they are uneasy about the very prosperity of their European and Japanese allies. In March 1988,

Survey Sources (1) The Americans Talk Security (ATS) project, a series of 12 national opinion surveys, about one per month, from late 1987 through 1988; (2) two national surveys and additional focus group studies conducted for the World Policy Institute (WPI), the first survey in November 1987 (WPI 1), the second in May 1989 (WPI 2); (3) summaries of participant opinion from citizen education projects run in selected communities in 1987-88 by the Public Agenda Foundation and others; (4) a 1985 national survey for WAND Education Fund; (5) national opinion surveys published during 1988-89 by organizations such as Gallup; and (6) national opinion surveys conducted by Hamilton and Staff, a private polling organization in Washington, DC, 1987-89; and their two polls cited here are from December 1988 (H&S 1) and March 1989 (H&S 2).

majorities of Americans agreed that "our economic competitors like Japan pose more of a threat to our national security than our traditional military adversaries like the Soviets" (59-31%), and that "Japan and Western Europe's strong economies hurt U.S. national security because they threaten our own economy" (55-33%).

Even when security is defined in military terms, the most serious threats frequently are seen outside the usual channels of U.S.-Soviet competition. Examples are "spread of nuclear weapons to the Third World" and "terrorist activities around the world." When asked what was the most important goal of U.S. national security, the most frequent answer in the same 1988 survey was "combatting international drug trafficking" (ATS 4).

Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear War

If the public's fear of Soviet aggression drove its support for higher military spending, fear of nuclear war has been the driving force behind support for arms control and disarmament.

The bellicose language of the Reagan administration in the early 1980s reminded many Americans of what was at stake in the age of Mutual Assured Destruction. Public alarm was evident in polls and in the success of the Nuclear Freeze Campaign. Reagan softened his rhetoric, showed receptivity to arms

liker, but Americans retained their fear of nuclear arms and their desire to do without them.

By a large majority—73-23 percent—Americans believe nuclear deterrence has prevented a major war; a slightly smaller majority believes that deterrence will never fail (ATS 12). Despite this apparent contentment with the theory underlying the deployment of nuclear weapons, there is a profound fear of them.

When given the choice between "elimination of all nuclear arms in the world" and having "a few major countries, including the U.S., [have] enough nuclear arms so no country would dare attack them," Americans chose elimination of nuclear arms by 56 to 41 percent. When the respondents in that 56 percent were asked how much of a reduction they would consider a "satisfactory achievement...over the next few years," half said they would not be satisfied with less than complete elimination.

Even after hearing arguments in favor of nuclear weapons, the public, by 53 to 43 percent, favored the elimination of all nuclear weapons (ATS 2).

The important word here may be "all." Americans usually respond favorably to equal-sounding proposals. "All" may have the attraction of equality—everybody's nuclear weapons would be gone. Only a few nuclear strategists have suggested that all nuclear weapons could be abolished, but it apparently is an attractive goal.

Similarly, it is possible that deterrence is a sufficiently abstract concept that Americans feel they are simply being asked, have we had a major war or not? When given the opportunity to talk about nuclear weapons, separated from abstract concepts, Americans clearly articulate their fears.

New Priorities

If Americans see themselves moving toward a new world order in which the Soviets are less threatening and America is poorer, and if national security is defined increasingly in economic terms, then what should be the spending priorities for the United States?

As noted earlier, the public is apparently distressed by the country's direc-



tion—or lack of direction—and calls for leaders who recognize that new domestic problems, or global problems with domestic consequences,

need attention. The environment, education, homelessness, and especially drugs have been of great concern. One survey suggested that Americans heavily favored increased government spending in these four areas, with drug control and education, at 61 percent, receiving the most support.

The only policy areas for which Americans, on balance, wanted reduced spending were foreign aid, the savings-and-loan bailout, and military weapons (H&S 2).

Since 1983, there has been a willingness to cut defense spending. Waste in the Pentagon received much media attention throughout the decade and Americans, in surveys and focus groups, showed they knew of these allegations and were unhappy about them. If, however, Americans believe Pentagon waste is simply part of government waste, then that concern by itself will not lead to support for reduced defense spending.

Seventy percent of the public believes that "waste and inefficiency in Congress, the administration, and the federal bureaucracy" is responsible for "a lot" of the budget deficit (H&S 2). In a 1988 survey (ATS 8), 56 percent agreed that there is "no more waste in the Defense Department than in other parts of the federal government."

Defense spending is near the bottom of Americans' laundry list of preferred policies. In 1989, more Americans—by 43-25 percent—identified defense spending as the cause of the deficit than identified domestic spending (H&S 2). Yet Americans are not persuaded that they must choose between defense and domestic spending or between defense



ILLUSTRATIONS: JOHN KLOSSNER

talks, and launched the Strategic Defense Initiative, which promised protection from an enemy's nuclear weapons.

By the end of the 1980s, disarmament organizations had lost the intense public attention they had enjoyed ear-

spending and deficit reduction. They are not persuaded that defense spending must be (as opposed to, can be) cut.

Weapons Systems and Defense Policies

We know that Americans want the United States to remain strong, while being open to changes in the relationships to its allies and to the Soviet Union. When survey organizations search for opinions on specific defense-policy questions, however, they encounter problems.

Because people inform themselves about relatively few public policies, and because they often take their cues from

political leaders and the mass media, meaningful public opinion exists only on a few weapons systems and defense policies that have been debated widely over an extended

period of time. Questions have been asked about a number of systems and policies, but given how little people know about "no first use," for example, it is risky to rely too heavily on such data.

The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), the most controversial program of the 1980s, showed how divided opinion can be. SDI appealed to those who wanted high levels of defense preparedness, and to those who feared nuclear weapons. Yet its costs were steep and its success doubtful. The public, given the choice between keeping the ABM Treaty (which a deployed strategic defense in space would violate) and developing SDI, opted narrowly in 1985 and 1987 for keeping the treaty (WAND, ATS 1). In 1989, 44 percent favored more SDI funds "to allow early deployment of a missile defense system," while 49 percent were opposed (WPI 2).

If, as is suggested here, opinions on other defense policy and weapons is-



sues are of doubtful value in learning what the public wants, it is to basic feeling that we should look—feelings of trust or fear, openness to change or attachment to the status quo. And what we see are people who are waving goodbye to the old world view while clutching it still.

A New World View?

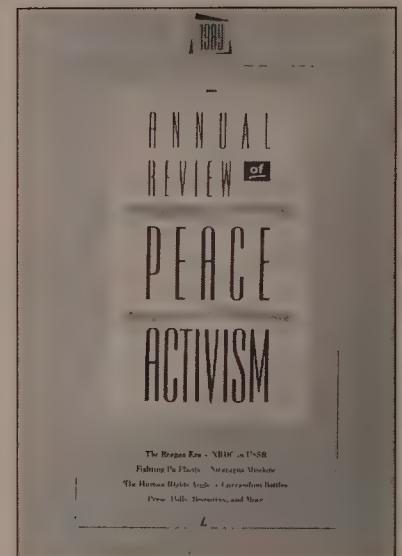
The pieces of a new world view are in place in the minds of many Americans. These pieces could become part of a vision that would be the underpinning for American policy in the 1990s and beyond. But to assume that this already has happened, or that it will, ignores the remarkable role that leadership has always played in American attitudes on international affairs.

In economic policy, Americans know whether they are happy, leaders or no leaders. The same is true for many social issues. In international affairs, however, there has been great deference to the president and the military, and that will not change quickly. Surveys suggest that the Democrats—the political party most supportive of new perspectives—have not only been losing national elections but also have been losing the image as the party best able to protect national security and reduce the nuclear arms race (H&S 1).

The Bush administration has the opportunity now to say that the new vision is its vision and to assume leadership in explaining what it means for America. That will not be easy. While axioms, such as "Soviet = threatening," have been uprooted, the uprooting is clearer than the rooting. But if the task of the Bush administration is formidable, the challenges facing other potential leaders and explainers are even greater.

If the Iron Curtain becomes a fainter memory over the next year or two, and if leadership arises, Americans could move to a world view that is post-Cold War. The shape of such a view would be one of the most important discoveries of the early 1990s.

James Clotfelter is professor and head of the department of political science at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. He is the author of three books, including The Military in American Politics.



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"Not only a thorough account of an important subject, it is also a timely notice, even a warning, of the special interests and interagency squabbling that still perplex arms limitations talks." —J. L. Heilbron, co-author of *Lawrence and His Laboratory*

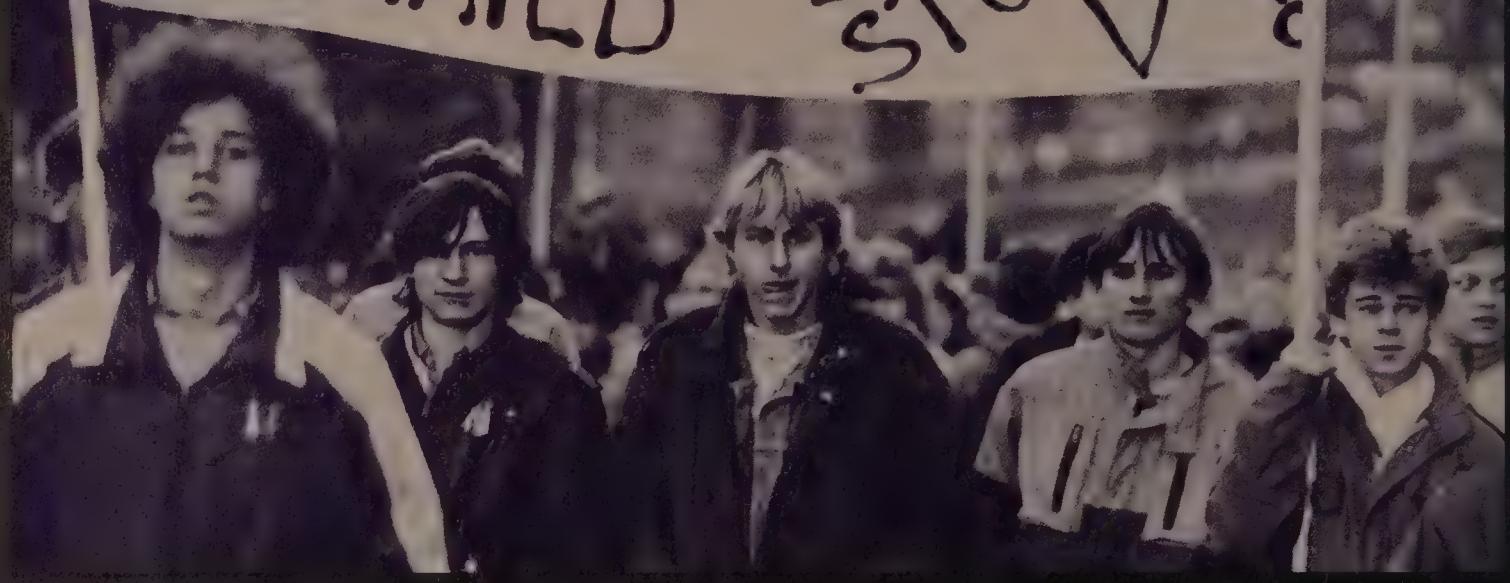
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DETENTE

from

B E L O W



by
Milan Nikolic
and
Sonja Licht

The scenes in the streets of Prague, Berlin, Timisoara, and Leipzig late last autumn will live in the European memory for generations: ordinary citizens demanding human rights, democracy, and an end to militarism. That these mass demonstrations and strikes succeeded will surely be regarded as a watershed in the history of the twentieth century. But the struggle in Eastern Europe for peace and democracy started long before the revolutionary year of 1989.

When the Berlin Wall was opened, few people around Europe probably remembered the Berlin Appeal published on January 25, 1982. It was one of the first documents to emerge from the new, autonomous peace movement in East Germany, and it was the first independent peace manifesto in the 1980s to stress the link between freedom of expression and peace activity.

The Appeal was followed by other statements and actions of the growing East European peace movement. In April 1983 Jaroslav Sabata, a leading figure in Charter 77, the Czechoslovak dissident group, wrote to E.P. Thompson, a leader of European Nuclear Disarmament (END), advocating the necessity of an alternative both to "peaceful coexistence" and nuclear annihilation. The alternative, he wrote, would be a demo-

cratic peace—not simply the absence of weapons, but the absence of political and social tensions between the state and its citizens.

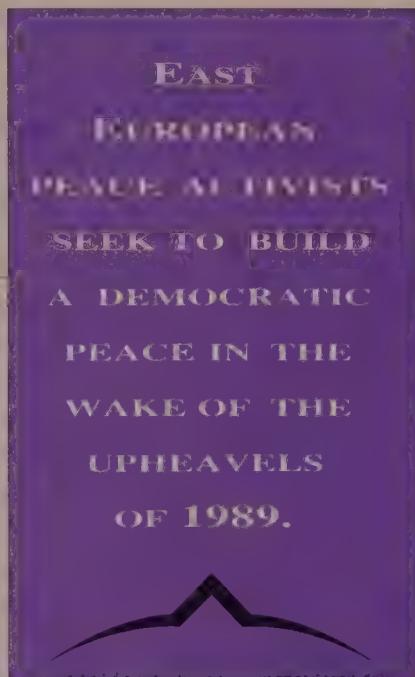
Peace & Human Rights

In his essay, "The Anatomy of a Reticence," written for the Amsterdam Peace Congress in July 1985, Vaclav Havel defined a position that would soon become the underlying principle of the East European dissidents concerning the issues of peace:

Without free, self-respecting and autonomous citizens, there can be no free and independent nations. Without internal peace, that is, peace among citizens and between the citizens and the state, there can be no guarantee of external peace: a state that

ignores the will and the rights of its citizens can offer no guarantee that it will respect the will and the rights of other peoples, nations, and states.... A respect for human rights is the fundamental condition and the sole genuine guarantee of true peace.... A lasting peace and disarmament can only be the work of free people.

It was extremely important that Havel's bold approach—coincidentally articulated in the Prague Appeal and sent by Charter 77 to the same congress—had become accepted by a large portion of the West European



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peace movement. Of equal significance was its rediscovery of the concept of “civil society,” that part of society separate from government and party—free trade unions, private groups, alternative press, unofficial institutions of all kinds. According to Mary Kaldor, one of END’s founders, this concept was already “terribly important” for the new peace movement in the West, but it had not been expressed.

“We always said that we would be trying to influence the government, change the relationship between state and society,” Kaldor recalls in a 1989 essay. “We didn’t care who was in power as long as you got rid of the missiles. We would win when the missiles had gone, not when our people won power. And that was something we had been saying, but defining it in the terms of civil society, that was something we learned from Solidarnosc.... We need real institutions in a society which allow us to become citizens and which allow us to negotiate with government. We need to create a civil society that solves its own problems.”

The acceptance of the notion of democratic peace—that peace and democracy are essentially linked—was a necessary precondition for better mutual understanding and future joint actions of Western and Eastern European peace movements for a detente from below. It is now obvious that this detente from below, together with the Soviet “newthinking,” played the decisive role in transforming Eastern Europe.

The dramatic changes in Eastern Europe are occurring within a post-Cold War framework. This is not to say that the democratic transfor-

mation of Eastern Europe would not have taken place without the new East-West detente, of which the peace movement is an organic part, but that the transformation would be different—more troublesome, slower, less radical, and probably spurring resistance from the armed forces. Surely the rethinking about the very identity of Europe would not have been so prominent as it is now.

Emergence of an Independent Peace Movement

The detente from below is a phenomenon of the 1980s. After the first appeals and actions of East European dissidents concerning the issues of peace and democracy, and especially after the international seminars in Warsaw, Budapest, Moscow, and Prague organized by independent peace and human rights activists in 1987 and 1988, it became obvious that an independent peace movement had emerged in Eastern Europe. It was a peace movement based on citizen initiative contrary to the official peace committees that had been partners of the Western peace movement in the previous few years. But those official committees proved to be a constitutive part of the party-state structure.

Through the European Network for East-West Dialogue, Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West, and similar joint efforts, independent campaigners for peace and democracy came together and made an East-West as well as an East-East dialogue part of the everyday political scene. This type of cooperation proved to be indispensable for denying the superpowers their pre-

rogative to decide, once again, about matters of war and peace. In Eastern Europe it helped the democratic opposition to understand that one of the basic preconditions for democratic transformation of their societies is to end the Cold War. And it helped the Western peace movement to understand, in the words of Charter 77, that “peace is threatened everywhere where the voice of critically thinking citizens has been silenced.”

The concept of democratic peace was also linked to the ecological movement in Eastern Europe. Although the democratic opposition was aware of the environmental damage wrought by regimes long before the nuclear disaster in Chernobyl, this catastrophe and the way it was handled by the authorities in all East European countries was a turning point in the development of a strong ecological consciousness in everyday life. A number of very successful actions concerning ecological issues followed, such as the Yugoslavian Federal Assembly’s ban on further construction of nuclear power plants, and the decision of the Hungarian Parliament to give up the construction of the Bas-Nagy-maros dam on the river Danube.

Peace groups were among the principal organizers of these actions. So, for example, one of the most important peace organizations in Eastern Europe, Poland’s *Wolnosć i Pokój* (Freedom and Peace), was in the forefront of a massive reaction to the Chernobyl disaster. It staged demonstrations after the accident, and conducted a campaign against a nuclear power plant being built near Gdansk, among other envi-



DONNA BINDER, IMPACT VISUALS

IN PRAGUE, STUDENTS EXAMINE BANNED POLITICAL LITERATURE AND PHOTOS OF POLICE BEATING UP PROTESTERS AT A DEMONSTRATION.

ronmental actions. The fear of future nuclear disasters helped the people of Eastern Europe become fully aware of the danger of nuclear weapons. Thus the Chernobyl disaster was the very moment when the issues of nuclear disarmament became a really important issue for all East Europeans.

What will happen to the peace movement in the new circumstances of upheaval and change is far from clear. Civil society is developing throughout Eastern Europe, and as a result, human rights, ecology, and peace have new significance for the opposition. These issues are still important, but with freshly acquired freedoms of expression and political organization, the main activity of the new parties, civic forums, and independent groups and associations are shifting toward the problems of economic recovery and reconstructing democratic institutions.

Most of the peace move-

ments in Eastern Europe have become marginalized by the direct political struggle between the remains of the Communist regimes and the democratic opposition. If, however, the opposition seeks to transform the authoritarian state into a truly democratic one—with a developed civil society—they should be faithful to the heritage of the new social movements. It should encourage, in the phrase of Hungarian reformer Istvan Bibó, “the little circles of freedom” to blossom. It should preserve and encourage the novel sense of citizens’ responsibility that was fostered by the new social movements, one that said, “Nobody is helpless; we are all responsible.”

This sense of responsibility was undoubtedly powerful in the streets of Prague, Budapest, Warsaw, Leipzig, and Sofia. It made possible Vaclav Havel’s ascent, in a mere 40 days, from a “forbidden” person to

Czechoslovakia’s president. This new sensibility is the *conditio sine qua non* of the civil society in Eastern Europe. And this sensibility implies a strong concern for peace. For even if the Cold War is over, the potential for war—for one country violating the rights of another—is not yet close to nil.

Change and Challenge in Eastern Europe

The last six months of 1989 made it clear that the model of state socialism characterized by one-party rule is rapidly disintegrating. Only one country in Eastern Europe—Albania—seems immune to the profound and dramatic shifts affecting the rest of the region. The rapidity of change is overwhelming even to the wildest imagination of veteran dissidents.

The process of dismantling the party-state structure in Poland and Hungary that lasted a year (a pace that

seemed even too fast for the opposition), took just one month in East Germany. The rate of change was still more startling in Czechoslovakia. On November 17, demonstrating students were violently attacked in Prague; ten days later, the opposition organized a successful general strike throughout the country, and leaders of the Civic Forum held their first meeting with the Communist government. By the end of December, Havel was president. In Rumania, after the Timisoara massacre, it took less than ten days to crush the most repressive Stalinist regime. It has been the only violent revolution in Eastern Europe in this period, and the violence was a reaction to the brutality of the state security forces loyal to Ceaușescu.

Years of struggle and suffering preceded these astonishing events, and credit should be given to the democratic opposition represented by the Workers Defense Committee (Solidarity’s predecessor), Charter 77, the Moscow Trust Group, and hundreds of other human rights, peace, and environmental groups. Solidarity’s long years of struggle for an independent trade union—and an independent civil society—was also important in exposing the failure of Soviet-style socialism.

Most of the independent citizens’ groups saw the necessity of changing not only their domestic politics, but the international scene as well: as long as Europe remained divided, their hopes of lifting the Brezhnev Doctrine (the Soviets’ self-proclaimed “right” to intervene) and transforming their own societies democratically were unrealistic.

• POLAND •

In Poland, only a few years after many who spoke out against the Communist regime were in jails, isolation, or hiding, Solidarity shares power with the Communist Party, which controls the military, police, and foreign ministry. They face the daunting task of rebuilding a ruined economy and, at the same time, trying to change its very structure in order to dissolve the foundation of state power. The economic program of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki promises Poles only "sweat and blood"—which translates into unemployment, inflation, loss of some union rights, and more costly social services. It is possible that many Poles will be reluctant to take sides in potential disputes between the Solidarity-led government

and the Communist bureaucracy. Still, the Polish people will not be ready to give up the pluralism and democracy they have achieved at high cost.

Considering that the old guard controls the army, police, and foreign ministry—the instruments of war and peace—the peace movement in Poland faces a complex and challenging situation. The organization Freedom and Peace was helping Solidarity throughout the election period last year, its leading activists serving as members of Lech Walesa's "Citizen Committee" and seeking financial aid for Poland abroad. Although they remain concerned about peace issues, especially in the European context, most of their activity is absorbed by the process of rebuilding Polish society.

• EAST GERMANY •

The transformation of East Germany, which together with Czechoslovakia looked like the fortress of neo-Stalinism, was marked by the massive exodus of citizens from the country. If the Communist oligarchy had calculated that a relatively superior economy by East European standards would appease the citizenry and act as a safety valve for easing tensions, they were badly mistaken. Mass demonstrations in Leipzig and Berlin in effect forced the hard-liners from the government.

Most independent peace activists, forced to emigrate to West Germany two years ago, returned immediately and got involved with the principal opposition group, New Forum. As soon as East Germany moved toward po-

litical pluralism, talk of German reunification rose. The probability of a reunified Germany—even within the federation Helmut Kohl has proposed—means that the role of the peace movement in East and West Germany is all the more significant. To many observers, a precondition of reunification should be broad demilitarization and removal of all nuclear weapons from the country as a whole. These demands, including some sort of neutral status for Germany, have been goals of the peace movements there for years, but will still be resisted by many in power and by a possibly resurgent fascist element as well.

• CZECHOSLOVAKIA •

In some respects, the developments in East Germany resemble those in Czechoslovakia.

AMERICANS ABROAD FIGHTING FOR DISARMAMENT AND DEMOCRACY

Before Solidarity's reemergence as a political force in 1988, East European human rights issues were not a priority for U.S. peace activists.

Still, the potential for a "democratic peace" that would affect not only Eastern Europe but U.S.-Soviet relations and global politics attracted a few Americans in the early 1980s. Two of those, Joanne Landy and Gail Daneker, formed Campaign for Democracy/East & West in 1982 to tie issues of demilitarization to those of human rights.

The liberation of Eastern Europe from Soviet dominance does not entirely surprise Landy. "The possibility of this happening has been a tenet of the Campaign all along," she says. "We were saying, 'Don't compartmentalize human rights. Peace domestically is a part of peace internationally.'"

Landy contends that many U.S. activists in the past held views about Eastern Europe that were similar, however unintentionally, to those of American conservatives. "Jeane Kirkpatrick insisted that those countries were immune to change from within," she explains. "Some in the peace movement saw real power in those countries in the party-state, not with the dissidents. And they felt you shouldn't antagonize the power structure if you wanted nuclear peace."

That attitude evolved over the last decade. The Campaign was instrumental in persuading U.S. activists that a dynamic link between peace and human rights had to be forged. Through its publication, *Peace & Democracy News*, exchanges with East European dissidents, conferences, and other activities, the Campaign began to change the peace community's outlook.

"When Americans came face-to-face with Eastern Europeans, who were also in peace groups, and saw how important human rights were to them, the attitude changed,"

Landy says. Influence was also exerted by E.P. Thompson, END, and other West Europeans who always decried superpower hegemony throughout Europe.

The impact of West on East was also profound. "The demilitarization of society is a big issue in Eastern Europe," Landy explains. "That was crystallized by seeing peace demonstrations in the streets of Western Europe."

"The tactics used to transform the regimes are the legacy of Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and the U.S. labor movement. Nonviolence is a principle with deep strategic and moral importance, and that was reinforced by Western peaceniks."

While continuing to press for disarmament, Landy is giving new emphasis to economic issues. "The attempt to impose retrograde forms of market economics will result in a 20 percent reduction in the Poles' standard of living, with high unemployment. Can democracy survive under those circumstances?"

She also sees the surge toward democracy in the Soviet Union as a pivotal challenge to Gorbachev: "You can't have stable reform without those democratic movements, and Gorbachev has an ambivalent attitude about that. He's opened up space, but there could be a problem for American activists if they come to rely too much on Gorbachev. Our first choice should be to support the deepening of democracy."

That's a guiding principle that could have served us better in the last decade. "The peace movement would be stronger today," Landy contends, "had human rights been a stronger component of our work. We now have a chance to build a more effective movement by integrating disarmament issues with human rights, ecology, and social justice."

slovakia. Charter 77 and other independent groups that formed the Czechoslovakian movement for peace and democracy are promoting Sabata's and Havel's concept of democratic peace as a common ground for joint political interests and actions. In Czechoslovakia, as in other countries in Eastern Europe, opposition forces must concentrate their efforts on creating the conditions for free political action and an independent civil society. As a result, the struggle for peace appears to be taking a secondary role to the work for democracy and the demands of coalition government. But the impact of peace activism on the new Prague government was immediately apparent in their demands to Moscow to remove Soviet troops.

It is important to note that the economies of East Germany and Czechoslovakia are in better shape than their Comecon neighbors. Once profound democratic changes begin, these societies may be less vulnerable and exposed to the dangers of nationalism, ethnic chauvinism, religious intolerance, indiscriminate privatization, high unemployment, and importation of "predatory" capital and "dirty" and obsolete technologies than the neighbors whose economies are more dilapidated.

• HUNGARY •

In Hungary, changes appear to be less dramatic on the surface, but a deep transformation of the political and economic structure of the country is underway. The economy is being reformed, but Hungary is plagued by the highest per-capita foreign debt in Eastern Europe, and

inflation and unemployment are growing. The reformist stream of the ruling Communist Party converted itself into the Socialist Party, and the opposition is preparing for elections and expects to gain significantly. The Hun-

the demilitarization of society.

Already, the Hungarian Parliament has decided to dissolve all party organizations in the army and to dissolve the Workers' Guard, a paramilitary organization of



garian Democratic Forum is the largest opposition party. But two others—the Association of Free Democrats, in coalition with the Association of Young Democrats—called for a referendum on electing a president before parliamentary elections, and despite a boycott by the Democratic Forum, more than half of the nation voted.

The peace movement in Budapest appears to have a minor role in the restructuring of politics, the economy, and society, but continues to act as the ally of the main forces of the opposition. Its goals coincide with those of the opposition movement as a whole, which is unanimous in its demand for the depoliticization of the army and

the old Communist Party. In addition, the foreign minister proposed the creation of a demilitarized buffer zone made up of Hungary, Austria, and Yugoslavia. And, in nearly all public meetings and documents of the opposition, the demand for complete withdrawal of all Soviet troops is articulated—a demand heard in mass meetings in Prague, Leipzig, East Berlin, and elsewhere.

• YUGOSLAVIA •

Amid the stunning changes in Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia—the first East European country to experiment with reforms from above—is struggling to keep pace with its neighbors. Tormented by its

economic and political crisis, and by bitter nationalist feuds fueled by regional Communist Party leaders seeking new legitimacy, Yugoslavia's reform efforts have been significantly slowed. Because of barriers to interregional co-operation, opposition groups and the new social movements—including peace activists—have been weakened and fractured. As a result, the peace movement has flourished primarily in the more pluralistic republic of Slovenia.

In other republics such as Croatia and Serbia, only kernels of the peace movement exist. Although activists in Serbia are weak, together with activists in Slovenia they are now playing an important role as almost the sole voices of reason and peace among the Yugoslav nations, albeit on the eve of a total break of ties between the two republics. As a part of the democratic opposition, peace activists are the first to rise above the present nationalist euphoria in understanding that nationalist quarrels only serve the interests of the Communist political establishment.

At the same time, the Yugoslav military continues to defend the existing order, making it clear that it will accept neither the disintegration of Yugoslavia nor a multiparty system. The military's position is confronted only by peace activists. They may also be the ones who build bridges between the democratic opposition of different republics, a necessary precondition for successful, democratic changes in Yugoslavia.

• BULGARIA & RUMANIA •

In Bulgaria, to everyone's surprise, November 1989

witnessed the dismissal of long-time "socialist czar" Zhivkov. Dissident groups appeared after Zhivkov's downfall, among them peace activists, as organizers of mass rallies in Sofia. At one of the first meetings, independent activists for the first time in Bulgaria's recent history raised publicly the issue of the persecuted Turkish minority. For the moment it seems that the new Bulgarian leadership will respect this margin of democracy in order to speed up the changes in the party and state apparatus, which is still almost entirely "Zhivkovistic."

The events that took place in Rumania in December were even more startling. Although everyone knew that Ceaușescu's Stalinist dictatorship was among the world's worst regimes, and many were convinced that only a spark was needed to send people into the streets, nobody knew that the Rumanians were so desperate that thousands of young people were ready to risk their lives for freedom and democracy. It was also impossible to predict that the Rumanian nation would fight together with the Hungarians and other ethnic groups living in Rumania after decades of hostilities instigated by different Rumanian regimes, a situation most severe under Ceaușescu's dictatorial rule, when Rumania and Hungary were close to armed conflict.

Of course, the process of democratic transformation in Rumania is at the very beginning. Not even traces of democratic institutions or a viable opposition existed before the revolt. After the first moments of euphoria, several questions were troubling: Having won credit for its decisive role in the revolution,

what is the future role of the army? What will be the relationship between Rumanians and other ethnic groups, particularly Hungarians? What is the future of the current—probably transitional—government, of which a great part served in the former regime? It is obvious that a peace movement would have a lot to do, and we believe that some activity may soon appear.

New Circumstances and New Problems

These changes in Eastern Europe are placing peace activists and other independent movements in an entirely new position. In Poland, for example, activists feel that part of the coalition government is "ours" (those from Solidarity), while at the same time "they" (the Communist establishment) still maintain authority over military, police, and foreign affairs. The need for peace activity still exists, of course, but it is not operating in the old milieu in which the party-state and its Soviet ally were the principal enemies. Now activists are trying to adapt to an environment in which their natural allies, principally Solidarity, have great influence and significant government offices.

In this new set-up, the former democratic opposition must frequently endorse government policies. In such cases peace activists must comply with the general political line supporting the gov-

ernment, even when they disagree with its present policy, in order not to hurt the political plans of their allies. At the moment, the "our" part of the government sympathizes with independent peace activity as a kind of pressure on the Communists. But there are signs that this kind of activism would be

seen differently if, for example, Mazowiecki's government were to bring foreign affairs under its control.

In that case, the Polish peace movement would

probably be pressed by Solidarity to harmonize its activity with government policy. On the one hand, this is understandable given the complex, even disastrous, economic situation; the government needs all the help it can get. But on the other hand, it would mean the end of the peace movement's independence. This would split the movement, and perhaps only a new generation of peace dissidents would continue independent activity.

Maintaining an Independent Peace Movement

In order to avoid this trap, the peace movement in Poland and elsewhere should press its own issues and perspectives onto the government and the general public. It needs to carefully guard its independence from other democratic forces. This does

not mean that peace activists should not support the democratic transformation of Eastern Europe, but they should be cautious about the compromises that proximity to political power always brings.

Such independence will be particularly crucial if the army becomes "apoliticized," that is, if the Communist Party leaves the barracks (as in Hungary) or if political activity is forbidden to all soldiers. It is possible in such circumstances that parts of the population and even the democratic opposition would become much more benevolent toward the army.

It is also possible that the widespread desire for demilitarization would weaken as soon as the Soviet troops leave Eastern Europe. What then would be the attitude of the peace movement? Should it still press for the demilitarization of Central Europe and the whole continent? These are difficult questions, particularly given the fear of East Europeans about the closeness of Soviet armed forces even after they have withdrawn.

Another sensitive issue may create an entirely new complex of problems for peace activists, particularly in multi-national states: the appearance of nationalism, ethnic chauvinism, and religious intolerance. It should be recalled that both world wars began in this region, and nationalism played a role in instigating conflict. Today in Yugoslavia, the Baltic republics of the USSR, Bulgaria, and Rumania, nationalism may lead to hostility between ethnic groups, in turn sparking violent conflicts, and ultimately, military intervention. Such intervention may even be welcomed by some people—for example, endan-



POLISH ELECTION POSTER FOR SOLIDARITY CANDIDATES.

gered ethnic groups—particularly if troops are viewed as “our army.”

In such circumstances, the peace movement would have a hard time in its antimilitarist stance. A sharp illustration is Serbia, where it is disadvantageous to criticize the military and its actions against Albanian ethnics and their movement for national independence in the autonomous Kosovo province (a part of Serbia, though the great majority is Albanian). Most Serbians consider the military's actions in Kosovo as the legitimate defense of the “Serbian imperiled minority” from the “Albanian aggressive majority.”

Nationalism & the Threat of War

Strong nationalist sentiments in Eastern Europe can be traced back to the Middle Ages, but their reemergence in the last few years is attributable to the decades of Stalinist and neo-Stalinist regimes. After a long period of identification with a one-dimensional, authoritarian, and in fact, a simple doctrine, a deeply dissatisfied populace may find it easier to switch to national identification—even nationalism or chauvinism—than to identify with some genuinely democratic and universal values.

This switch has been usually initiated by the Communist bureaucracy itself: as Communism was declining throughout Eastern Europe, it was trying to find some new basis for legitimacy by presenting itself as the champion of national (i.e., ethnic) interests. This process has been most visible in Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and the Soviet Union. It is also true, how-

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ever, that Communist regimes suppressed national rights throughout Eastern Europe and the USSR, and such suppression is itself a strong source of nationalism, especially in the absence of democratic traditions in this part of Europe.

In addition, unresolved differences over territories and national minorities fester in the region. The Baltic states are an obvious case. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are claimed by both the USSR and Poland, which heightens the nationalist fervor within each country in their struggle for independence. A growing chauvinism towards outsiders, particularly Russians, is strongly evident. An analogous problem is arising in Silesia and East Prussia, areas ceded to Poland and the USSR by Germany following World War II. German nationalists hope to reclaim those areas, a claim that could become more pressing if East and West Germany are reunified.

The territorial disputes do not end there, however. Polish nationalists claim not only Vilnius and part of Latvia but also Lvov, part of the Ukraine, and eastern Slovakia. Hungarian nationalists have claims on Transylvania, which is now part of Rumania, but also envisage a Great Hungary, which would include parts of Yugoslavia and Slovakia. Rumanian nationalists hope to integrate Moldavia, which now straddles the USSR and northeast Bulgaria and is inhabited by a Rumanian minority. Northwestern Yugoslavia, namely Istria and part of Slovenia, is claimed by Italian nationalists. Some Bulgarians have their eyes on Macedonia (now part of Yugoslavia) as do some Albanians and Greeks. But

Macedonian nationalists aim to unify Pirin Macedonia (part of Bulgaria) and Aegean Macedonia (part of Greece) with Macedonia proper.

All these claims are potential sources of conflict. If peace movements in Eastern Europe want to pursue their role, they first must confront the nationalist sentiments within their own movements and countries, as well as within Eastern Europe as a whole. It must be stressed that in this part of Europe, nationalist passions and feuds almost inevitably lead to violent conflicts.

One of the immediate dangers for peace activists, therefore, might be the emergence of conservative patriotism that in many of these countries is mixed with nationalism and chauvinism. The peace movement needs to develop some fundamental principles of its own in defining the link between national rights and peace. Just as there is a natural link between freedom and peace, there must be a similar link between the rights of each national group and peace. The basic right is that each nation and ethnic group, regardless of size, should be free to live in accordance with its own national, cultural, and political values.

Fragmentation of Peace and Democracy

One factor that could alter the nature of the peace movement is that the struggle for democracy, of which the struggle for peace is a constitutive part, is now taking a different path. Until recently, the struggle for peace in Eastern Europe was also the struggle to pacify the Communist regimes—particularly their oppressive apparatus—

and to change their foreign policies. Now that it is increasingly possible to end the old regimes, gain political power, and radically transform the societies, many in the democratic movement may feel that peace activities are no longer necessary. They might even treat them as a "fragmentation of our forces," when unity of the opposition is required to increase bargaining power.

An observed decrease of activity and visibility of peace movements in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany is believed to be, at least partially, due to this viewpoint of the democratic opposition and not merely because more direct political actions—massive street demonstrations and general strikes—have eclipsed them.

The dissolution of the Cold War, the transformation of Eastern and Western Europe, and the emergence of new foreign policies in the East directed toward peace and cooperation in Europe may change some basic presumptions for the peace movement. This new European dimension may change it from a more universal outlook—emphasizing human rights and democracy, for example—toward concrete issues such as German reunification, neutrality in Central Europe, a demilitarized buffer zone between the superpowers in Europe, independence of the Baltic states, and termination of the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

Turning to concrete issues may have positive effects. For instance, it would help to shape further the foreign policies of new East European governments. But some negative effects may appear as well, especially if the gen-

eral aims of total disarmament and demilitarization are undermined in favor of more immediate goals and alliances.

The Polish peace movement, for example, may oppose the withdrawal of U.S.



DONNA BINDER, IMPACT VISUALS

LIGHTING CANDLES IN MEMORY
OF THE 1968 SOVIET INVASION
OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

troops from Western Europe, fearing a new imbalance resulting from a powerful, united Germany. Hungarian peace activists are worried about a "New Rapallo Treaty"—an axis between a united Germany (which has capital and technology, but needs raw materials and markets) and the Soviet Union (which has raw materials and potential markets, but little else). Out of these and other fears, East European activists may take steps that Western peace movements may find unorthodox or strange in the absence of ongoing dialogue between them.

Another new focus for East European movements is the third world. The problems of third world conflict have been minor—virtually nonexistent—issues for East Europeans. Many activists know little of the U.S. emphasis on low-intensity warfare, for example, or its history of intervention in Latin America. Common approaches can be sought between Eastern and Western activists if some perma-

nent discussions can be opened.

A European Peace Forum

The proposal to set up a European peace parliament—the so-called European Assembly for Peace and Democracy—is therefore extremely important. Such an assembly will be a "permanent forum for spokespersons of those sections of the international community who are aware that a war on this continent would mean destruction on an apocalyptic scale," Jaroslav Sabata wrote last year. "This European forum would strive to articulate what political parties and governments are not saying or what they are not yet able to say. Somebody has to express the truths which are 'ahead of time.'" Sabata adds that the assembly "will look for the right direction in the complex undergrowth of relations between disarmament and the development of democratic political structures."

The idea to create such a European peace forum was first voiced by Birgit Euwe-Koch from West Berlin at a May 1988 meeting of peace activists in Czechoslovakia, and was further developed in Prague the next month. After the preparatory meeting in Budapest in February, the first meeting of the Assembly will take place in Prague this May. The agenda will include the unification of Germany, demilitarization of certain parts of Europe, dissolution of the military pacts, creation of nuclear-weapons-free zones and demilitarized zones between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the right of alternative civilian service for conscientious objectors to military conscription.

The Assembly represents an opportunity to improve dialogue and begin a new phase in the development of the international peace movement. It will not only enhance mutual relationships, however. It will help everyone understand the extraordinary changes they face on the European scene.

The rapid transformation of both Eastern Europe and the region's peace movements is creating confusion, but it also has created new ideas and the introduction of the movement's objectives into foreign policies. Some of the movement's leaders are even in power. But the upheaval implies a certain decline in activism, however temporary, which could cause splits within the movements. It may also result in a new generation of activists who will have more critical distance from the new political arrangements.

Most important, activists must remember that their opposition to militarism, repression, and abuse of the environment was a catalytic spark of the revolution in Eastern Europe. It is that role, and the goals that were partially realized, which should guide their activity in the 1990s.

JANUARY 4, 1990

Milan Nikolic and Sonja Licht are sociologists and long-time Yugoslav dissidents, cofounders of Belgrade Peace and Democracy Group, members of the Yugoslav Helsinki Committee, and the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative. Milan, who spent more than two years in prison for his political activities, is now forming the Yugoslav Social Democratic Party. Sonja is also active in feminist issues. They have contributed to numerous journals in the United States, Britain, and elsewhere, including *New Politics* and *Across Frontiers*.

Bruce Gagnon

Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice Takes on the Plutonium Space Shuttle

by Leslie Fraser

IB

tion in 1983 against Martin-Marietta, manufacturer of Pershing nuclear missiles and employer of about 11,000 people in Orlando, an action that helped give birth to the Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice. Previously, local groups had done some networking on peace and justice issues, but their work was minimally coordinated. "A donor who wanted to see a statewide coalition gave us \$25,000," says Gagnon, "and that's how the coalition became established." Gagnon has served as the coalition's coordinator, now representing 75 groups, since its inception.

Why did he decide to do antimilitary organizing? "I grew up in a military environment. I come from an Air Force family," Gagnon says. "In 1968, I was the vice chair of my county's Young Republican Club. My greatest claim to fame was that I sat across from Strom Thurmond at a fish fry."

Gagnon carried on the family tradition by joining the Air Force in 1971. "I was stationed in California at Travis, an airlift base for the Vietnam War. It wasn't long before I was exposed to antiwar GIs within the military." At Travis, Gagnon's first roommate was a Vietnam protester who was trying to leave the Air Force. "There'd be meetings and antiwar discussions in the room late at night," he says. "By the time I got out of the Air Force, I'd decided I wanted to do something positive with my life."

Gagnon entered the national spotlight through the No Plutonium in Space campaign, opposing the nuclear-

powered space shuttle Atlantis launch from Florida's Kennedy Space Center last October 18. Called Project Galileo, the probe's stated mission is to explore the planet Jupiter. But Galileo's unstated mission—and risks—are far more sinister than space exploration. Not satisfied with its multinational boundaries, the nuclear industry is using NASA and the Department of Energy to expand into space.

The Galileo probe carries 49.25 pounds of plutonium 238 to fuel its nuclear generators. NASA revised its estimation of a shuttle-launch disaster after the Challenger explosion in 1986 from one in 100,000 to one in 78. The odds for a plutonium release are even higher. A NASA report dated January 13, 1989 states: "Analysis of these accident environments and their probabilities indicate that given an accident, a release of RTG fuel [plutonium] will occur about 8.3 times

in 100." Those chances are too high for coalition members and peace activists worldwide.

The radioactive plume of plutonium released by a launch accident would affect tens of thousands of people, according to nuclear physicist Michio Kaku, who claims that "a single pound, if it were pulverized and spread throughout the planet, could indeed kill everyone on Earth."

Before reaching Jupiter, the probe will fly by Earth twice, in 1990 and 1992, with chances of reentering the atmosphere or plummeting to Earth. There have been 22 previous launches involving plutonium-fueled devices, and three ended in failure. One of those U.S. military satellites crashed back into the atmosphere in 1964, spraying plutonium over the Indian Ocean. Some experts believe that the plutonium released in that accident contributed to global lung cancer rates.

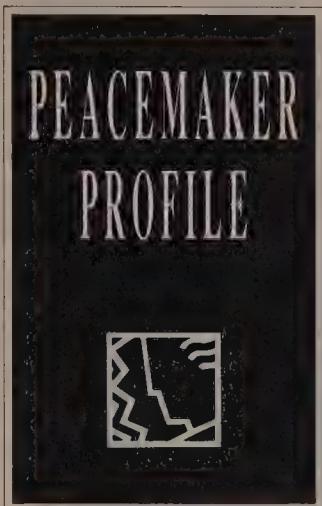
In October, another plutonium-fueled probe is scheduled for launching. Called Project Ulysses, this probe will carry nearly 25 pounds of plutonium on

its journey to explore the sun. Gagnon and other antinuclear peace activists may have years of organizing work ahead, since researchers claim that nuclear power is the future in space.

Gagnon says that he really began to worry about the possibility of a plutonium release when he learned that a canister broke open during tests performed on the plutonium fuel containers. So he and other coalition members began seeking national public debates on nuclear-powered space programs. They also joined the Christic Institute and Jeremy Rifkin's Foundation on Economic Trends in an unsuccessful lawsuit to block the Galileo project.

From a report obtained through a Freedom of Information Act request after the Galileo launch, nuclear critics learned of a 1981 study from the Jet Propulsion Laboratory that concluded: "It appears that a Galileo Jupiter orbiting mission could be performed with a concentrated solar array power source."

Space researchers claim that solar-powered generators for long-distance spacecraft are only theoretically possible, and years away from being developed. But Gagnon wonders why research hasn't gone into solar generators or nonnuclear long-lived fuel cells, and accuses NASA of lying to the public by



claiming that solar energy was not a feasible alternative. "I think the DOE is looking for a market for its plutonium, and the industry is looking for a new market for nuclear power," he says.

The use of nuclear space reactors to fuel the military space program is just as frightening. SDI research has focused on developing nuclear reactors in space (continued on page 36)

The Nicaraguan Election Is Not for Sale

by Marc S. Miller

Across the United States, members of the peace community have committed themselves to helping Nicaragua hold national elections so fair that even the U.S. government couldn't help but accept the results:

- The Seattle-based Central America Peace Campaign, with 15,000 members, prepared a school curriculum on how to evaluate foreign elections. Between January and March, high-school teachers and others will use it to help people understand Nicaragua's democratic process.

- Delegations from over 20 U.S. communities will visit their Nicaraguan sister cities on election day, February 25, 1990. One group from the Northwest, reading the letter of the law, hopes to get a piece of the \$12.5 million that Congress gave the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) to intervene in the election.

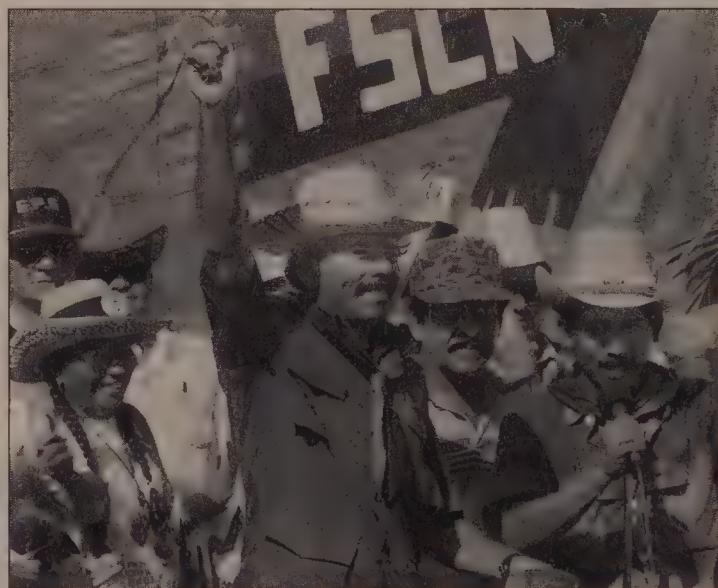
- Quest for Peace and Nicaragua Network have raised \$50,000 to send all the pens and pencils needed for the Nicaraguan election. In all, private U.S. groups have answered the NED allocation with \$10 million of their own. And while the U.S. government has sent no money to actually support the election, by October, Canada, West Germany, Spain, Switzerland, Finland, Norway, and Sweden had donated \$3.5 million to Nicaragua's Supreme Electoral Council.

- Every member of West Virginia's congressional delegation will receive 125 personal requests to respect the

election results. West Virginians who have visited Nicaragua are writing the letters, which include the senders' photos.

- To offset U.S. government aid to opposition campaigns, the Friends of the Frente, chaired by David Linder, Elisabeth Linder, and Sister Mary Hartman, is raising money for the Sandinistas' election fund.

Such efforts share a single goal: while



LARRY BOYD, IMPACT VISUALS

SPEAKING TO A CROWD OF SUPPORTERS AT A CAMPAIGN RALLY IN SOMOTILLO, NEAR THE BORDER OF HONDURAS, NICARAGUAN PRESIDENT DANIEL ORTEGA DENOUNCES THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR FOR BOMBING CIVILIANS AND MURDERING PRIESTS.

the administration and Congress are obsessed with deposing the Sandinistas, these citizen campaigns insist on Nicaragua's right to choose its own government.

"These elections are critical in determining Nicaragua's future," says Mary Purcell of Nicaragua Network. Her view is widely shared, and seasoned and novice activists alike are coming out in force. Quest for Peace had hoped to enlist and train 25 "media activator" teams. By late December, 93 groups were so active that "we can barely keep up with them," reports Quest co-director Meredith Sommers.

Witness for Peace (WFP) had to turn away 300 people who wanted to join its teams of election observers. And many of the 112 people who were selected have already planned extensive speaking and writing tours for their return to the U.S. to personally refute the expected barrage of official propaganda.

Across the board, Central America activists call this a turning point in Nicaragua's 10-year revolution. At a

minimum, the election could ring the death knell for overt U.S. aid to the *contras*, even if the Bush administration follows up a Sandinista victory with a request for more funding for the rebels.

Resting on the election results is at least a fraction of the several hundred million dollars Nicaragua needs to rebuild. For example, West Germany will probably send \$20 million after fair elections, and international lending agencies might even resume aid. Finally—although least likely—an educated U.S. Congress just might force the administration to lift the economic embargo that Ronald Reagan instituted in 1981.

Guiding all these endeavors are memories of what the United States did six years earlier. In 1984, outside observers judged Nicaragua's elections to be free and democratic. However, as the team from the Latin American Studies Association noted, "we must conclude that there is *nothing* that the Sandinistas could have done to make the 1984 elections acceptable to the United States government."

While the United States poured resources into the 1984 campaigns of opposition candidates, it also pressured those same candidates to pull out, knowing the Sandinistas would win a fair vote. Arturo Cruz, the leading opposition candidate, did withdraw, and

on that basis the Reagan administration justified rejecting the election.

The Bush administration, as did its predecessor, considers the electoral process merely a tool to undermine, not enhance, democracy in an avowed enemy. Nevertheless, 1990 won't be a carbon copy of 1984. Gail Phares, a founder of WFP, remembers how the administration effectively stymied activists that year. This time, she contends, Central America networks are bigger, the coalitions stronger, and their media work far more effective. After 10 years of experience with disinformation, activists may not be impotent this time around.

Since the U.S. government will doubtless repeat its rejectionist stance, an expanded network of election monitors will be critical—from the perspective of both Nicaragua and its supporters. Nicaragua's electoral council has accredited at least two dozen observer delegations, including seven from Witness for Peace, another led by former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, and a wide assortment from government and private groups sponsored by Canada, Germany, England, Spain, Sweden, Veterans for Peace, and the U.S. Congress. Only half in jest do people call this history's most observed election.

Delegations from the Organization of American States (OAS) and the United Nations (UN), with about 200 observers each, will play the central role, potentially shaping how the media and Congress react right after the election. Activists are attuning reporters and legislators to look to these nonpartisan bodies as the first source for news, rather than letting the administration set the agenda.

Thus the Citizens' Campaign for Free and Fair Elections in Nicaragua, a coalition of 32 major groups, is lobbying Congress to pledge respect for Nicaragua's electoral process. A statement delivered to every senator and representative concludes, "I hereby agree to support the findings and determinations of the monitoring teams of the United Nations and the Organization of American States with regard to

the validity of Nicaragua's elections." Coordinated through Witness for Peace, at least 190 Citizens' Campaign affiliates are active in 46 states. Dennis Marker, coordinator of WFP's national lobbying and media efforts, says the coalition receives a better hearing than each group has gotten separately.

Even more than lobbying, many activists think a media strategy is critical because, notes Mary Purcell of Nicaragua Network, "the media bought the White House line" in 1984. As the election draws near, many organizations are monitoring election coverage, writing letters to the editor, and publishing op-ed pieces in small and large newspapers.

In the past, rebuttals to administration propaganda often came too late.



CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT FROM THE UNO (NATIONAL OPPPOSITION UNION) VIOLETA CHAMORRO WITH VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE VIRGILIO GODOY IN TOWN OF MASATEPE FOR A POLITICAL RALLY.

This time, says Sommers, "when there are inaccuracies, misinformation, and disinformation, when people begin to see this in the media, they have been calling, writing, telexing the media."

Some groups are moving to counter distortions before they appear. Just as legislators are being deluged with visits, so too are editorial boards. For example, soon after a skills training sponsored by the Carolina Interfaith Task Force on Central America, a delegation visited the editor of the *Charlotte Observer*, North Carolina's leading newspaper. The visitors stressed the need to heed the independent judgment of the UN and OAS teams.

The Associated Press (AP) draws the most fire. Sommers thinks AP is guilty

mainly of misinformation, rather than the disinformation that characterizes the *Washington Post*. After AP falsely reported that Daniel Ortega had approved of China's massacre of its own people, activists forced the wire service to issue a retraction.

"I think AP has been horrible and ought to be embarrassed at the number of times they've been caught," says Pam Costain of the Central America Resource Center (CARC) in Minneapolis-St. Paul. She cites an obviously dubious December story that Sandinista supporters, armed with machetes, had attacked an opposition rally. Many papers and media dutifully quoted a supposedly neutral eyewitness, a one-time aide to Walter Mondale.

Unfortunately, CARC had to wait days for the OAS report on the incident to be translated into English. In fact, the quoted observer turned out to be a member of an NED-funded delegation. One person was killed, not two as the AP reported, and he was a Sandinista, not a member of the opposition. Finally, the OAS concluded, "it is impossible to determine who was responsible for initiating the violence."

Answering such propaganda could dominate the activist agenda in the coming weeks. If Ortega appears to be a safe bet to win, expect the United States to manufacture dramatic incidents to discredit the results. If so, the OAS and UN teams could be the only way to get the media and Congress to listen to facts.

Some attempts to discredit Nicaragua are less obvious. Consider opinion polls, the latest front in the war for Nicaragua's future. According to Marker, the United States might reject a Sandinista victory on February 25 by referring to a discrepancy between polls and the results. Indeed, one opposition poll in the fall of 1989 placed Violetta Chamorro and Daniel Ortega running almost even. The *Chicago Tribune* and other newspapers prominently reported this surprising finding, despite the poll's dubious methodology and origins, and without mentioning two other polls that put Ortega far ahead.

To counter partisan polling, Hemisphere Initiatives (HI), founded in mid-1989 to promote democracy and sound development in Central America, decided that nonpartisan polls were necessary. They hired the respected Washington polling firm of Greenberg-Lake, which is releasing not only selected findings but all its questions and methodology. HI, which will send several delegations of Latin American experts to monitor the election, wants to "hold other groups doing polls accountable" by setting a standard for truthfulness and professional conduct, says executive director Robert Warren. "We are concerned that a lot of the polls...are being used to potentially distort the reality and call into question the outcome."

Hemisphere Initiatives expected to report a close race in its December poll, but the results showed Ortega leading Chamorro by a comfortable 44 to 27 percent. Unfortunately, a clear lead for Ortega could be as dangerous as a close race. It raises the specter of 1984, with a danger that the United States could push Chamorro to leave the race, just as Cruz did in 1984. If the United States does shove Chamorro in that direction, says WFP's Dennis Marker, OAS and UN monitoring will again be key, limiting her space to allege that the Sandinistas were blocking free elections.

In other words, Nicaragua and its U.S. supporters face an immense challenge in 1990. As Sommers notes, even if Chamorro doesn't "Cruz out" of the campaign, "who knows what else will happen?" The Bush administration could invent a drug "discovery," down planes carrying arms to El

Salvador, or spread rumors that Nicaragua is about to invade Panama. Witness for Peace suggests that this winter's rise in *contra* attacks—including the New Year's Day murder of a U.S. nun and three other church workers—is an effort to disrupt the election.

Finally, NED money, not to mention 10 years of aid to the *contras* and other Sandinista opponents, could go a long way in buying the election. Nicaragua's enemies sometimes seem to have unlimited resources, while Central America activists are forever overextended. Indeed, as the election campaign was warming up, the war in El Salvador boiled over, dividing and diverting the attention and resources

of U.S. progressives.

Still, barring the unforeseen, Nicaraguans will cast their ballots on February 25 in one of the fairest elections ever seen in the region.

Within weeks, the success of these varied citizen efforts will be revealed in what the U.S. people, media, and Congress do in the wake of the expected Sandinista victory. The first test will most likely be yet another *contra* aid fight.

But, says Purcell, "The ultimate victory is getting the U.S. government to recognize the legitimacy of the election and formulate a new policy." In the words of newspaper ads sponsored by the Citizens' Campaign for Free and Fair Elections, "Nicaragua deserves a chance. Without U.S. interference."

Marc S. Miller, a senior editor of *Technology Review*, visited Nicaragua with *Witness for Peace* in 1987. Since then, he has written extensively on U.S. policy in Central America.

Peacemaker Profile (continued from page 33)

to power the lasers, platforms, and other weaponry for the Star Wars program. More than 100 satellites are proposed for this system, fueled by General Electric's SP-100 nuclear reactors, which are small enough to be launched aboard a space shuttle. Gagnon sees the launching of plutonium into orbit as an icebreaker—a way to get the public and Congress used to the idea of nuclear power and weapons in space.

The military mission and nuclear risks of Galileo won attention and support from the international peace community. "Reports are creeping into our papers about your case against Galileo," wrote Meg Beresford, general secretary of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. "On behalf of CND, I would like you to pass on our solidarity and support."

"We're staying in touch with international groups to build a stronger coalition for the next launch," Gagnon says. The protest was seen on TV in Tokyo, Australia, and Africa. "The West German Green party took the issue to their parliament floor, as did the New Democratic party in Canada. Snowbirds returning to Florida tell us that TV stations nationwide featured the story on local news," says Gagnon. *The Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, and even *USA Today* gave the shuttle protest top coverage.

"There's a perception that Star Wars is dead. But the military knows they have to put the arms race in space to maintain funding. This campaign has put the issue back on the agenda for other groups around the world. I think internationally we are going to see a movement to ban space weapons and nuclear power in space—a joining of the two," says Gagnon.

"We started the campaign out hoping to make it an issue in Florida. We hoped we could find a lawyer to help us take the issue to the federal courts. We hoped we could break the press censorship engulfing the Galileo story. In every case we surpassed our expectations," Gagnon says. "In every sense we won. We captured the attention of the world, and that was a victory."



PRESIDENT DANIEL ORTEGA VISITS THE TOWN OF MUY MUY ON NOV. 4, A FEW DAYS AFTER THE END OF A CEASE FIRE WITH U.S.-BACKED CONTRAS.



THE PEACE ECONOMY

Stalking the Elusive "Peace Dividend"

by Richard Healey

The threat of godless Communism is gone. Soviet tanks will not dash across the plains of Germany and overrun Western Europe. The Cold War is over. So it must be time to cut the military budget. Who thinks we need to spend \$150 billion a year to underwrite NATO or \$530 million for one more stealth bomber? What about two new kinds of ICBMs and several dozen Trident II missiles?

It should be time to convert factories, scientists, engineers, and workers producing all those no-longer-necessary weapons of destruction; we know of better uses for our resources and talent.

The time *has* come, but it will be a hard struggle to cut the budget deeply or to convert much of the military industry to civilian use.

The good news is that the playing field is, as they say, more level. The ideological rationale for the arms race is gone. Panama and the War on Drugs are attempts, in part, to find new justifications for the use of military force and high levels of spending. But drugs cannot replace Communism as the fulcrum of U.S. foreign policy. The perception of threat is downsized, and Pentagon budgets should contract accordingly.

So the questions facing the peace movement today are how to attack the military budget and how to go for conversion. There are competing ideas about each.

The Military Budget

The most successful approach in the early 1980s was to focus on waste,

fraud, and abuse. The Project on Military Procurement is still exposing \$9,000 toilet seats, but waste and fraud *per se* are no longer front-page news. Instead, the reduced threat to U.S. security provides a sterling case against unnecessary weapons and troops.

Disarmament groups have been fighting weapons systems for years, and it makes sense to build on that. We have the MX, Midgetman, Trident II, stealth aircraft, Star Wars, and the like to go after, and Washington-oriented outfits will tirelessly pursue them.

Operation Real Security and the British American Security Information Council—two small organizations—have focused on NATO troop reductions. Few large organizations work on this—a puzzling lack of attention, given the dollars at stake and NATO's centrality to the arms race.

Going after weapons or troops is limited, however. Only committed activists or D.C. lobbyists get very excited about them. And that is not enough to win.

The second major tactic contends that assailing military programs without reference to other national priorities is too narrow. These groups also attack Pentagon spending as excessive, but stress that it drains from other needs.

Increasingly, disarmament groups are moving away from the pure "military only" approach to emphasize social priorities. For example, many are working on the Budget for a Strong America, sponsored by Barney Frank and other members of Congress, which links peace activists with some powerful domestic constituencies.

Jobs with Peace and SANE/FREEZE are good examples of the "peace with justice" approach. Church-based groups and coalitions like IMPACT have long been oriented toward the domestic side of the budget. All are

members of a new ad-hoc coalition called the Citizens Budget Campaign, which has outlined a comprehensive position on military and domestic spending, taxes, and the deficit. It is the most impressive national effort to work on the budget I have seen in years.

Will these efforts produce the elusive "peace dividend"? My guess is that they won't, unless we can up the ante. Absent that, the budget deficit, domestic social pressures, and the end of Cold War hysteria together will gradually erode the military budget by about two percent a year. Such cuts would be absorbed imperceptibly by deficit reduction.

One way to up the ante is to organize around a new view of the world. The right wing has been much better at forming a world view and propagating it through conservative churches and other networks. We need to articulate a world view and a political program that unites the middle class (blue and white collar) with marginalized people in society for a renewal of the economy, the environment, health care, affordable housing, and quality education.

Such efforts in the peace movement have been limited. *Nuclear Times* has carried numerous articles about new concepts of security. Last year, the World Policy Institute produced an impressive document, *American Priorities in a New World Era*, which redefined security boldly. The newly formed Committee for Common Security is oriented in this direction. But most peace organizations have only paid lip service to such approaches; little in our own history has prepared us to organize at this level, which is in any case a difficult task.

The Conversion Opportunity

The fate of economic conversion is linked to this question of a larger political vision. By itself, conversion does not provide the perspective or attract the

social forces necessary to have a major political impact. All other things being equal, the terms of conversion will be set by dominant economic players, particularly the defense contractors we lobby against now. Many of them will fail, or merge, or develop consumer products; but some will retool for intervention in the third world—"lite weapons" for low-intensity conflict.

With minor cuts in the military budget there will be some openings for conversion. Activists should work with local officials, unions, and businesses around defense plants and military bases, which the Center for Economic Conversion is doing. We need enlarged efforts to pass conversion legislation, now led by the National Commission for Economic Conversion and Disarmament.

But we need to widen our scope and create a program that helps workers and scientists in the defense industry readjust. We need a program that claims a right to job security and that insists our factories produce socially useful products that our scientists and engineers invent. Unless we can win millions of people over to a new understanding of how they gainfully fit into a "peace economy"—and therefore win them over to a new political agenda—we will not have the power to advance far on our specific issues.

This approach is not utopian. Jesse Jackson has come close to putting forward a new global view while bringing together a wide spectrum of Americans. With increasing economic, environmental, and social problems—and no Russian bogeyman to distract us—the public will be asking hard questions. We must be ready with cogent and persuasive answers.

Instead of Soviet tanks, a new wave of democracy is sweeping across Europe, and perhaps it will soon reach our shores.

Richard Healey is east coast director of the Ploughshares Fund and is former executive director of Nuclear Times.

The 1990 Military Budget Explained

Selected categories of authorized military spending for fiscal year 1990, in thousands of dollars. (Appropriations and outlays may differ slightly; columns may not add up.)

Procurement of new weapons was the fastest-growing part of the budget during the 1980s. But the highest cost of new weapons is "downstream" in operations and maintenance. Thus, budgets must remain high to maintain what's already procured, or weapons systems must be cancelled.

63 Trident II missiles, a potential first-strike weapon, are authorized for this year at \$1.3 billion, excluding its R&D outlay. The navy buys 13 other missiles, including 400 nuclear-tipped Tomahawks at nearly \$600 million.

Whether to emphasize combat ships or sea-lift capacity is a hot issue. Advanced thinkers see the navy as the main conduit of "long-range power projection" into the Third World. Loss of U.S. bases may be compensated by "sea platforms," new types of carriers, and other interventionary vehicles.

ICBM "modernization" proceeds fitfully: 12 new MXs in '90, \$1 billion for MX "rail garrison" basing, and another \$100 million for Midgetman R&D.

"Stealth" bombers cost more in R&D than production. Next year that will change: five B-2s—at more than \$500 million per—will be procured.

Helps to upgrade more than 1,500 military installations abroad.

While promises for civilian child care languish, the Pentagon will spend \$70 million to build new child care centers and \$184 million to run the program.

Equal to roughly half the total appropriated for low-income housing throughout the U.S.

Includes funds for "cleanup" at Hanford, Savannah River, Rocky Flats, and other radioactive messes; the total bill for this is estimated at \$100 billion, minimum.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION, FY 1990

Procurement

Aircraft Procurement, Army	3,120,500
Missile Procurement, Army	2,756,800
Aircraft Procurement, Navy	9,653,300
Weapons Procurement, Navy	5,398,700
Shipbuilding, Navy	10,958,400
Aircraft Procurement, Air Force	16,329,900
Missile Procurement, Air Force	7,110,900
Total Procurement	81,879,500

Favorites of the airborne army are attack helicopters (\$700 million) and Stinger missiles (\$187 million) used in "low-intensity" intervention. Both are slated for sharp increases in 1991.

Research, Development, Testing & Evaluation

Antisatellite System, Army	85,572
Antisubmarine Warfare, Navy	484,785
Trident II	216,054
B-2 Advanced Technology Bomber	1,881,448
ICBM Modernization, Air Force	1,282,000
Strategic Defense Initiative	3,573,202
Total RDT&E	37,943,800

Strategic bombers get the headlines, but fighter-jets get the dough: 150 F-16s, 36 F-15s, and 66 F-18s, among others, will cost about \$6 billion. Bush wanted to cancel the F-14D, but Congress demanded its pork—\$1.5 billion to build 18 more.

Operations and Maintenance

Army	22,973,309
Navy and Marine Corps	25,584,551
Air Force	21,909,296
Army, Navy & AF Reserves & National Guard	6,661,500
Total O&M	86,210,547
Military Personnel	78,780,700
Drug Interdiction	450,000
Military Construction	4,678,489
Military Family Housing	3,274,322
Total, Department of Defense	295,313,000

Space weapons still eat up tax dollars and block a START accord. To date, "Star Wars" has cost about \$20 billion.

Experts insist that ASW R&D is unlikely to repay the effort, but more than a dozen ASW programs are gaining increased favor; a congressional report notes that "conferees believe that development of new ASW capabilities should be accelerated."

Just in case 2.1 million active-duty personnel aren't enough, another 1.2 million reserves are at the ready.

This does not include \$1.5-billion damages to Panama to nab drug lord and CIA agent Manuel Noriega.

Operating the weapons labs at Livermore, Los Alamos, and Sandia costs \$1 billion, and nuclear testing in Nevada costs \$500 million.

Target for spending was set by a deal between Bush and congressional leadership a year ago, and remained unaffected by 1989's extraordinary events.

Atomic Energy Defense Activities (Department of Energy)

Weapons Activities	4,584,707
Nuclear Materials Production	2,158,574
Defense Waste & Environmental Restoration	1,658,967
Nuclear Safeguards and Security	87,208
New Production Reactor	303,500
Naval Reactors Development	652,000
Total DOE Military	9,656,034
Total, U.S. Military	302,963,800

ECOLOGY WARS?





RAINFOREST DESTRUCTION IN BRAZIL.

LIONEL DELEVINGNE

THE
LINKS BETWEEN
SECURITY AND
ENVIRONMENTAL
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NOW WIDELY
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BY DONALD SNOW

F THE PENTAGON

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—DANIEL DEUDNEY

Tom Blessinger is not the sort of person one normally associates with peace activism. He is a politically conservative rancher who runs a large cattle operation in the Owyhee Desert where Idaho, Nevada, and Oregon meet. Like a lot of Western ranchers, he counts among his most important neighbors the U.S. Bureau of Land Management (BLM), trustee and manager of nearly all of the 5-million-acre Owyhee country. Blessinger leases public land from the BLM—lots of land, because it takes a lot to raise cattle on the sage-choked plateaus of the Idaho high desert. His winter range is a 200,000-acre lease he shares with four other ranchers.

For decades, the cattlemen of Owyhee County, Idaho have lived in quiet harmony with their federal landlord, but the harmony has been disturbed by the rise of public interest in

the federal lands. Lately, Blessinger has found himself competing at a furied pitch with environmentalists, river runners, wilderness enthusiasts and other recreationists who demand that the BLM manage the high desert much less for cattle ranching and much more for recreational, scenic, and preservationist purposes. They have proposed "Wild and Scenic" designations for several of the desert's spectacular canyon streams, wilderness for some of the same plateaus prized by graziers like Tom Blessinger, and even a national park.

In Blessinger's eyes the environmentalists are a bunch of come-latelies, there to "rescue" the high desert from the Bureau of Land Management and a scattering of cattle operators who have kept the land in agriculture for more than a century. For a long time, he just wished the environmentalists would go back to wherever they came from. If it weren't for the U.S. Air Force, he might have felt that way forever.

It seems that the Air Force has also "discovered" the Owyhee Desert, but where the ranchers see it as a fertile land for cattle, and the environmentalists have come to secure its solitude and rugged beauty against development, the Air Force regards it as a wasteland. As part of a \$100 million expansion of Idaho's Mountain Home Air Force Base, the Pentagon wants to expand the Saylor Creek Bombing Range out in the Owyhee Desert to more than 15 times its present size—from 102,000 acres to more than 1.5 million—transforming it into one of the largest and most advanced live bombing ranges in the world. The Air Force has now

claimed the entire eastern quarter of the Owyhee—the ranchers' home and the environmentalists' playground—as a place to practice annihilation. And that has turned Tom Blessinger around.

When he stood to testify at an Air Force hearing in Boise last September, just after the Saylor Creek proposal hit Idaho so suddenly, no one in the room knew what he was about to say. A few dozen of his old enemies, the environmentalists, were there, expecting the worst. They had seen him at hearings before and feared him as an articulate spokesperson for the ranchers who were willing to fight to keep the high desert agricultural. This time, Blessinger got up and said: "I'm used to going to these kinds of meetings and having you all stare daggers at me. Tonight I see friendly faces. We have a common enemy—the U.S. Air Force." There was a moment of stunned silence, then cheering erupted.

In the view of the more than 200 who have now testified against the Air Force expansion plan in Idaho, the high desert is no place to test so many F-4 fighters and weapons. The rock-walled canyons and free-flowing rivers, the livestock and wildlife, the deep silences of the vast and once-indomitable Owyhee country could not withstand a quadrupling of Air Force presence. Supersonic overflights as low as 50 feet would terrify animals—Blessinger says it would disrupt their reproductive cycles and drive wildlife away—and shatter the peace of the ancient canyons of the Bruneau River. The constant flyovers, the pummelling bombs and missiles would squeeze out the last bit of wilderness from the Owyhee.

THE GROWING NIGHTMARE OF MILITARY TOXICS

BY LENNY SIEGEL

AS GROWING NUMBERS OF AMERICANS SEEK TO REDEFINE NATIONAL SECURITY, IT IS NOW APPARENT THAT

ENVIRONMENTAL ABUSE BY THE U.S. MILITARY POSES A MORE IMMEDIATE THREAT TO THE HEALTH AND WELFARE OF

AMERICANS THAN THE ARMS OF OUR POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES. BY NOW, THE IMMENSE

ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY'S (DOE) NUCLEAR WEAPONS PRODUCTION COMPLEX

ARE WIDELY KNOWN. FEW PEOPLE, HOWEVER, RECOGNIZE THE MAGNITUDE OF THE DEFENSE

DEPARTMENT'S TOXIC THREAT. THE PENTAGON IS BY FAR THE LARGEST GENERATOR OF HAZARDOUS WASTES IN

The Saylor Creek bombing range plan is but one of many proposed expansions of weapons testing sites that arose from Congress's 1988 decision to relocate urban and coastal military bases to rural areas. In addition to the 1.5-million-acre expansion in Idaho, the Pentagon wants a million acres in Montana, a quarter-million acres in California, 900,000 to add to its more than four-million acres in Nevada, 600,000 acres in Oklahoma, and another half-million acres in Utah to build a multi-billion-dollar electronic battlefield.

Blessinger describes his newfound allies—environmentalists and peace activists—as “strange bedfellows,” but enjoys his association with them. “We’ve been meeting, and it’s really improved the understanding,” he says. But he still



Low-level radwaste burial ground, Barnwell, S.C.

stands by his claims that agriculture remains the best use of the Owyhee country, just as he stands foursquare patriotic. “I’m a dyed-in-the-wool American,” he says. “My family’s been around here more than a hundred years. I’m for a strong defense, and I know these guys need a place to test weapons,

but you look at a map and you can see that they’ve got plenty of places already. They don’t need to take more of this country than they’ve already got.”

THE PERPETUAL TOLL OF WAR

The newfound and unlikely allies who are fighting the Saylor Creek proposal are not alone in their environmental opposition to military expansion. They join a growing chorus of environmentalists, agriculturalists, and peace and social justice activists who together decry the increasingly destructive reach of the military and the enormous expenditures of money, human talent, and industrial effort required to keep global arsenals modern while the planetary environment declines. Many question the commitment to the luxurious militarism required to maintain conventional notions of security.

As data on climate change, declining agricultural productivity, deforestation, and the ubiquitous contamination of fresh air and water continue to emerge, the old shibboleths of what constitutes national security lose meaning. Some defense analysts now argue that the deterioration of the natural environment must be numbered among the gravest security threats facing all nations, for it holds the potential to erode the biological foundations of human life, thus threatening economic stability, homelands, and peace across much of the planet.

At the very least, the enormous costs of national defense—now running at

about \$2 billion a day worldwide—represent resources *not* being spent on environmental protection and restoration or on strategies to achieve economic sustainability. Yet the minute-by-minute costs of maintaining the illusory security promised by militarism pale against the human costs of warfare.

Since the end of World War II, more than 20 million people have died in wars. The share of civilian victims has been rising disproportionately with the death rate. While in 1950 civilians comprised about half of all war deaths, the percentage has climbed to 85 today. The 1980s witnessed 22 wars, the most recorded in any decade. An estimated 13 million refugees now exist—the living victims of warfare, despotic governments, and the resulting economic decline.

Meanwhile, the economic toll of preparing for war continues to wreak havoc, especially in the third world. While industrialized nations doubled their military expenditures, third world countries expanded theirs sixfold since 1960, bringing their share up to 18 percent of the world’s military spending today. Some 50 million people now hold military jobs, equally divided between soldiers and workers in the arms industries. Since the end of World War II, some \$16 trillion have been spent on the world’s armed forces. “National defense,” says economist Kenneth Boulding, “is now the greatest enemy of national security.”

But in many regions of the world, environmental violence now rivals warfare as a major cause of hardship and death. Scientists’ predictions of future environmental decline strongly suggest

THE UNITED STATES: IN 1986 IT PRODUCED NEARLY 418,000 TONS, INCLUDING

WASTE SOLVENTS, FUELS, PROPELLANTS, EXPLOSIVES, USED PAINTS, PAINT STRIPPERS, AND HEAVY METALS. ITS CONTRACTORS GENERATE AT LEAST TENS OF THOUSANDS OF TONS MORE EACH YEAR. DESPITE INCREASED TREATMENT AND RECYCLING PROGRAMS, MOST OF THOSE WASTES ARE DISPOSED OF IN LANDFILLS OR RELEASED DIRECTLY INTO THE ENVIRONMENT. VIRTUALLY EVERY MILITARY INSTALLATION IN THE COUNTRY HAS SOIL AND WATER CONTAMINATED BY IMPROPER HANDLING AND DISPOSAL OF TOXIC MATERIALS.

THE PENTAGON HAS DISCOVERED TOXIC CONTAMINATION AT 8,139 SITES AT 897 MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN U.S. TERRITORY. NEARLY 100 OF THOSE BASES ARE CURRENTLY ON OR WILL SOON BE ADDED TO THE SUPERFUND

that these regions are not aberrations, but the barometers of future conditions around the globe. Environmental decline is no longer being seen merely as an aesthetic concern of the wealthy, but as a killer and usurper.

THE GROWING TOLL OF ECOCIDE

In addition to the millions of refugees from war and political conflict, there are now an estimated 10 million *environmental* refugees who lost homelands through the collapse of natural systems. Millions have died because of the march of human-induced deserts, droughts, the destruction of croplands, and the floods and mudslides caused by the desperate exploitation of land. Global warming, the loss of the ozone layer, and deforestation promise to kill millions more, as the trends of environmental devastation sharply accelerate.

Tropical rainforest destruction, a post-World-War-II phenomenon, now impoverishes a billion people. Each year, an area the size of Maine ceases to be rainforest and begins its decline into tropical desert. In Central America, two-thirds of the original rainforests have vanished before the march of coffee and cotton plantations, strawberry, broccoli and melon farms, and cattle ranches—all to produce export crops to enrich corporations and wealthy planters, often at the expense of subsistence farmers who lose their land to “progress.” The cities of Central America are now bulging with the landless—ringed with concentric circles of shantytowns

where lawlessness and unrest fester. The rainforests that have sustained life for millenia now fall to the overblown dreams of oligarchs, often to service national debts to international banks—the bill for hundreds of earlier ill-conceived development schemes.



Uranium mill wastes dumped near Elliot Lake, Ontario.

A United Nations Environment Programme survey estimates that 35 percent of the earth's land is in various stages of turning into deserts. More than 135 million people now live on lands experiencing severe desertification. The African Sahel, which spans nine countries from Mauritania to the Sudan, suffers the gravest threats to arable land. Two droughts in the past 20 years killed an estimated quarter-million people in the Sahel, with another two million forced to flee the countryside and into the crowded cities.

The persistent droughts of the 1980s proved that diminished agricultural productivity is no longer a local problem confined to a few unfortunate regions. It is global in scope. Thanks to drought—exacerbated by soil losses and

farming practices that deepen its effects—the past two years have marked the only back-to-back declines ever recorded in world grain production. If scientists' predictions of future climate change come true, the ability to feed the world will only worsen, especially if, as some predict, the U.S. grain belt collapses.

Officials from NASA are now 99-percent certain that the temperature increases observed this century reflect the greenhouse effect. The burning of fossil fuels—three-fourths of which occurs in the industrialized nations of the North—pumps 5.5 billion tons of carbon into the atmosphere each year, with another 2.5 billion added through deforestation. Ozone depletion, once believed to be confined to the poles, has now been positively measured above the United States and Europe, which collectively pump 90 percent of the ozone-gobbling chlorofluorocarbons into the air.

These atmospheric assaults, if allowed to continue, are likely to reduce food production, speed up desertification, diminish the efficacy and boost the costs of irrigated agriculture, exacerbate flooding, and cause marine inundation. They will accelerate the pace of extinction, already running at levels not seen since the Cretaceous period, 65 million years ago. Within a scant ten years, 20 percent of all known species will be gone forever.

These declines can be traced in part to worldwide economic expansion. Since 1950, global economic output has doubled, and with it has come commensurate increases in the combustion of fossil fuels and other pollut-

SITES, AND THE CLEANUP WILL COST \$20-40 BILLION. PRODDED FOR MORE THAN A DECADE

BY LOCAL ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVISTS, STATE OFFICIALS, AND SOME IN CONGRESS. THE PENTAGON HAS ACKNOWLEDGED

EDGED—AT LEAST ON PAPER—ITS ENVIRONMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY. IT HOPES TO CUT ITS

1984-LEVEL WASTE GENERATION IN HALF BY THE END OF 1992. IT IS INVESTIGATING CONTAMINATION AT THOU-

SANDS OF SITES, AND IT HAS ACTUALLY CLEANED UP MORE THAN 200 SITES.

STILL, THE MILITARY HAS A

LONG WAY TO GO. IT OFTEN USES HAZARDOUS MATERIALS WITHOUT EXPLORING SAFER ALTERNATIVES. MANY BASES

STILL HANDLE TOXIC MATERIALS RECKLESSLY. CLEANUP AT MOST BASES HAS PROCEEDED AT A SNAIL'S

ants that contribute to climate change. Moreover, economic expansion is accompanied by the dissemination of an industrial growth philosophy that pays no heed to the notion of sustainability. And the resources most vulnerable to industrial appetites are the renewables. Industrial economies have proven themselves remarkably able to find substitutes for scarce nonrenewables—plastics and ceramics to replace rare metals, for instance—but remarkably unable to sustain forests, grasslands, watersheds, aquifers—even soils—without depleting them.

With an expected quintupling of world economic output by the year 2050 and a tripling of fossil fuel consumption, the attack on renewable resources is bound to intensify, and the trends contributing to the loss of croplands and forests, clean air, and water will worsen. As these horrifying events unfold, the world of the next century will begin to resemble nuclear winter in the extent, if not the details, of its devastation.

THE COSTS IN AMERICA

In the face of these mounting catastrophes, conventional patterns of national security are beginning to appear archaic. Indeed, the very notion of national boundaries begins to lose meaning. Just where are the "borders" of the industrialized countries whose combined pollutants worsen droughts and famine a continent away, or whose vision of industrialized agriculture, masquerading as third world "development," leads to the destruc-

tion of the very rainforests that could sustain local populations indefinitely, even as they cleanse the earth's air? Modern militarism as a means to secure nations against threats from foreign powers seems especially outmoded in the face of environmental violence. Nuclear weapons will not stop the rising oceans nor help the ozone layer to knit itself back together.

Yet the United States and other nuclear powers continue to gird up for warfare, seemingly oblivious to the environmental devastation that mounts around them. U.S. military spending virtually eclipses the national commitment to sound environmental management. Congress in 1986 appropriated \$273 billion on the military, but only \$18 billion (with another \$60 billion in private funds) on pollution control. Around 30 percent of U.S. scientists and engineers work in military-related jobs, but the much-vaunted "spinoffs" into commercial products are more mythical than actual. In 1982, the Pentagon invested nearly 40 percent as much in plants and equipment as was invested by all private manufacturers combined.

While we have tied up an enormous share of public capital in rebuilding our national defenses against increasingly vague military threats, we have largely ignored the menace of a rapidly deteriorating environment. Our recalcitrance over acid rain regulation and the ensuing tensions with Canada are well-documented. So, too, is U.S. foot-dragging on global warming. A less known but illustrative example is U.S. opposition to a Scandinavian proposal to cut sulfur dioxide emissions 30 percent by

1993. As of 1985, 21 countries excluding the United States had joined the "30 percent club." By 1986, ten had already met the goal and four had committed to a 70-percent reduction. The United States continues to ignore the proposal.

While America's response to the environmental crisis has been dilatory, it must be said that the threats posed by global warming, deforestation, ozone depletion, and other such assaults are speculative as *security* threats in any conventional sense. We know that a rise in sea level of one meter will make homeless many millions of Egyptians and Bengalees; or that a two-degree-Celsius rise in global temperature could cause the collapse of rice production. Such consequences certainly bode ill for international stability, but will these and other forms of environmental decay spark major conflicts?

Of much greater certainty is this: military activity is a clear and present danger to the environment and those who depend on it directly for their livelihoods.

This threat is apparent to Tom Blessinger. As he and his new environmentalist allies point out, the Air Force's massive land withdrawals for bombing runs will harm the public domain and, if Blessinger's convictions about ranching are true, end agriculture in the eastern quarter of the Owyhee. But the withdrawals are nothing new. They are merely the latest chapter in a decades-long saga of U.S. military escalation against the environment, evidenced by nuclear testing, toxic waste dumping, excessive use of resources and, most egregiously, attempts to revive the di-



PHOTOS: PAGES 42-43, ROBERT DEL TREDICI

Military publicist proudly shows results of "Minor Scale," the largest non-nuclear test ever, at Alamogordo, N.M.

lapitated weapons complex. The last, in particular, revealed the startling price of the “old thinking” about defense, a price that includes not only billions of dollars but radioactive pollution in multiple forms and implicit encouragement for other nations to follow the American example.

What citizens had begun to learn from the Reagan rearmament is that militarism and the conventional mind-set of national security underpinning it, aside from the threats they present to peace, cause unacceptable levels of environmental violence. Like farmer and author Wendell Berry, many were beginning to wonder, “who *are* the enemies of this country?”

AN HISTORIC ALLIANCE

On April 22, 1970, Earth Day founder Denis Hayes described Vietnam as an “ecological catastrophe.” American bombs had already left more than two-and-a-half-million craters in the Vietnamese countryside, while the use of defoliants, at rates exceeding 10,000 pounds per month, had blackened 6,600 square miles of jungle. With this proclamation, Hayes identified a compelling reason for the new environmentalists to remain joined with the American peace community: warfare in any form is environmentally devastating.

Today, with the American public newly stirred by the ecological crisis, it is time for environmentalists to reassess their commitments to peace—to look more closely at what they can do to help link the interests of environmental

protection and economic sustainability with the interests of peace. And peace activists must do the same. Neither should have to look very far.

The history of the U.S. Department of Energy is a vivid illustration of how the federal government continues to favor military over environmental security, and how environmentalists and peace activists interact in an ebb-and-flow of activity.

Since the early days of the Atomic Energy Commission, the federal government has been divided between peace and war in matters related to energy. During its first decade, the AEC came under increasingly harsh congressional criticism for neglecting its mandate to develop nuclear power while it provided the brainpower, testing, and production of America’s massive nuclear arms buildup. With the emergence of environmentalism and the eventual creation of the Department of Energy (DOE) in 1977, the tension between peace and war in federal initiatives shifted ground but continued and intensified.

The new environmental activism that Earth Day 1970 symbolized and helped galvanize largely supplanted the anti-war fervor of the late ’60s and early ’70s. Within that broad movement were those who saw energy as a key ingredient of a new attitude: *renewable* energy, conservation, and appropriate technology rose to the top of the agenda. The new DOE seemed to promise government attention to these priorities, but it failed to deemphasize the “peaceful atom” as an energy source. So nuclear power grew as a pivotal issue for ’70s activists; in addition to its environmental

and safety hazards, it symbolized increased centralization and decreased public control over decisions affecting human and environmental health.

During the Reagan years, antinuclear activism translated readily into a new antiwar movement. Reagan’s twin emphases on rearmament and growth at any cost crystallized the two strains of activism and put them on separate but parallel tracks. Reagan shut down the DOE Solar Energy Research Institute and cut off most funding for alternative energy research, while DOE and the Pentagon proceeded with the largest nuclear arms buildup in years. Near the end of Reagan’s presidency, however, an issue surfaced that provided common ground for ecologists and peace-niks—the DOE nuclear weapons complex. Reagan had unwittingly spurred their renewed alliance by calling for a “modernized” nuclear weapons complex—virtually a second Manhattan Project to feed the military’s hunger for nuclear weapons and establish the tone and central mission of the nuclear bureaucracy well into the next century.

In its closing months, the Reagan DOE called for new plutonium and tritium reactors to be built in Idaho and South Carolina, a Special Isotope Separator to modernize plutonium extraction, and the phasing out and relocation of both the Rocky Flats “trigger” factory and the Fernald uranium fabrication plant. All of this was to be done, interestingly, under the aegis of environmental cleanup. Some DOE contractors even insisted that cleanup of the grossly contaminated plants could not proceed without the promise of modernization. Said Westinghouse

PACE, IF AT ALL. THE PENTAGON, IN GENERAL, REFUSES TO ADMIT

RESPONSIBILITY FOR TOXICS-RELATED DISEASES NEAR ITS FACILITIES, AND SAYS VIRTUALLY NOTHING PUBLICLY

ABOUT CONTAMINATION AT FOREIGN U.S. BASES. THE PROBLEM IS FUNDAMENTAL: THE MILITARY’S

MISSION IS TO PREPARE FOR WAR, AND THE DEFENSE COMMITTEES IN CONGRESS ENDORSE THAT ATTITUDE. FIGHT-

ING THE WAR ON POLLUTION IS NOT A PRIORITY. ACTIVISM ON THE ISSUE IS GROWING. NATIONAL

ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PUSHING FOR LEGISLATION THAT WOULD MAKE FEDERAL FACILITIES SUBJECT

TO THE SAME STATE AND EPA REQUIREMENTS AND PENALTIES AS PRIVATE PARTIES, WHILE

GRASSROOTS ACTIVISTS ARE USING LEGAL,

Hanford Company president William Jacobi, "In terms of a major investment in environmental cleanup, I think it will happen only if we can get the defense mission continued."

The Bush administration has inherited, and slightly modified, the nuclear complex modernization plan. As for a peacetime energy mission, DOE apparently will persist in trying to revive the nuclear power industry—once again under the peculiar banner of environmental protection, since nuclear energy will be touted as a solution to global warming.

The dreadful mismanagement of Fernald, Rocky Flats, Hanford, Savannah River, and other weapons plants activated very effective peace-environmental coalitions. Local groups have sprung up near the weapons facilities and, aided by national networks and organizations such as the Natural Resources Defense Council and SANE/FREEZE, have thrown a wrench into DOE's ambitious plans. Front-page headlines, official investigations, shutdowns of facilities, and even criminal indictments have resulted from this cooperative work.

But the alliance has not been without friction.

STRENGTHENING THE LINKS

Despite the successes of the coalitions fighting the weapons plants, institutional caution has crept in. It needs to be examined.

While peace activists have loudly denounced DOE's continued commitment to nuclear weapons development,

some environmentalists—by no means all of them—have embraced the cleanup plan as a "more realistic" political approach to reducing the egregious contamination of the weapons complex. They stand silent on the issue of whether the weapons complex ought to be restarted at all, let alone modernized, believing that to challenge the need to build weapons would destroy their hard-won credibility before Congress.

In the process, however, these realists, focused as they are on only the environmental component of weapons production, are missing a special opportunity. For the production complex is emblematic of disregard for the environment in the service of decrepit notions of national security. The production of plutonium and weapons-grade uranium also has profound implications for nuclear proliferation and arms control.

In a larger sense, DOE's activities—including weapons-making—demonstrate the relationships among planetary environmental destruction, the growth of Northern industrial economies at others' expense, and foreign and military policies geared to protect such economic policies. In fact, U.S. policy not only allows for but implicitly encourages the continuing devastation of third world ecosystems in exchange for participation in the global economy. Activists should come to see "political realism" in this new light.

For environmentalists and peace activists both to be effective in helping to stem environmental violence, they must loosen their grip on the institutional borders of their own organizations and of their movements. Environ-

mentalists should consider entering into foreign-policy debates. The roots of rainforest destruction in Brazil and Central America, for example, can be traced to overpopulation, coupled with a desperate need for land and economic reform. Yet U.S. policy prohibits "interference" in population planning and thwarts efforts at land reform, particularly in Central America, often under the banner of U.S. security.

Instead of tackling these structural and political problems head on, some environmental organizations hope to save the rainforests via conventional approaches to land conservation—national parks, nature preserves, and other



Sedan crater at the Nevada Test Site after 110-megaton nuclear blast.

"wilderness areas" set aside and protected as much *from* people as for them. It's a plan that worked well in the United States throughout the 20th century, but it did not face the civil war, famine, and shortages of resources that plague Central America today. Some U.S.-inspired preserves there have already been plundered. In the next few decades of worsening resource destruction and warfare, it is doubtful that the

POLITICAL, AND DIRECT ACTION TO DEMAND RESPONSE FROM LOCAL

BASES. **H**OWEVER, MUCH MORE MUST BE DONE TO OVERCOME THE ENVIRONMENTAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE COLD WAR AND OTHER U.S. MILITARY VENTURES.

LENNY SIEGEL, DIRECTOR OF THE PACIFIC STUDIES CENTER IN MOUNTAIN

VIEW, CALIFORNIA, IS PREPARING A REPORT, "THE MILITARY TOXICS STORY," FOR THE NATIONAL
TOXICS CAMPAIGN.

will can be summoned to maintain parks and preserves as tiny islands of ecological wealth in a sea of devastated rainforest.

Peace organizations can provide leadership by expanding into the environmental sphere their critique of militarism and rigid nationalism. They can enter into the worldwide effort to organize citizens against the onslaught of new "weapons" against the environment—the unforgiving rain of pollutants that increases tension and waters the seeds of conflict.

The links that existed at the first Earth Day between the antiwar movement and environmentalists can be reasserted. Few environmentalists said then that their political capital could not be squandered through opposition to the Vietnam War. And few antiwar activists failed to decry the environmental devastation of Southeast Asia.

The links are evident throughout the world. Now activists can make such links the focal point of strategy.

EMPHASIZING SUSTAINABILITY

"Perhaps the most useful outcome of the environmental experience is that it illuminates the relationship between the outward manifestations of the ills that trouble modern society and the common origin of those ills," Barry Commoner writes in his landmark 1987 essay in *The New Yorker*, which summarizes the successes and failures of the environmental movement since Earth Day 1970. But, he warns, there are risks in pursuing that "common origin"—risks that few social movement organizations are ever willing to take. For the illumination of the common threads underweaving our plight—the increase of poverty, homelessness, warfare, and violence—necessarily broadens the agenda and seems to many to divert it from its most gainful course. And, as Commoner points out, it threatens greater numbers who benefit from the status quo.

Commoner closes his essay by recalling Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who "died believing...that beneath the legal basis of racial discrimination lay deeper

problems of poverty and violence; that the root of racial discrimination is also the root of poverty and war." That belief inspired King to lead a march against the Vietnam War. His critics, Commoner reports, charged that King

homelands, and planetary environmental destruction have common roots. The common solution is to identify and eradicate them; the common goal is *sustainability*, which cannot be achieved militarily nor under current patterns of development and consumption.

Sustainability encompasses both economic and environmental concerns, even as it challenges modern industrial societies with a mandate for profound change. Former EPA administrator William Ruckelshaus has said that the movement toward sustainability "would be a modification of society comparable in scale to only two other changes: the agricultural revolution of the Late Neolithic and the Industrial Revolution of the past two centuries." Our illusory cycle of nonsustainable economic growth protected by nihilistic military power clearly stands apart from any vision of sustainability.

As long as Congress and the administration continue to pour resources into the military, the United States will appear hopelessly out of synch with those prepared to participate in a new vision of a sustainable world. With the right leadership—more simply, with the proper response to public attitudes—the United States could both research and promote sustainable technologies and shape a global vision of sustainability and the tools to make it work.

What we now face is a threat to *biological security*. Like nuclear war, it is a threat that exceeds our abilities to imagine. If climatologists are correct, we will soon reach a point when we will be forced to leave the secure and familiar surroundings of our own nationalities, our identities as a people superior, regal and apart, and join in the common plight of all humanity, indeed, of all species. Our weapons, no matter how modern, will be more useless than ever.



Scalding water from Savannah River reactor destroys wetlands.

was out of his element, that he had veered dangerously from the cause of civil rights, which could be undertaken more conservatively by defining themes narrowly and claiming victories against discrimination under the law. But King persisted, broadening his work until he died.

Commoner insists that none of the issues-oriented movements of the late 20th century has attempted to follow the lead of Dr. King in exposing the underlying, common roots of violence. For reasons that pertain mostly to organizational business—to the gathering and tending of the membership flock, to the grooming of funders or the cultivating of political influence—nearly all movement organizations reach a point where they feel that they can no longer afford the luxury of a broad focus or the risks of alliances with "radicals." Like corporations that learn how to maximize profits by capturing a significant market share for a single product, some social change organizations have learned to block out all concerns that seem to stand outside of a narrow focus on a single problem.

Still, an increasing number of peace and environmental organizations are together finding common threads in their work toward greater security, nonviolence, and reversing the ecological crisis. They have begun to weave together the fabric of a new vision, broader than what either had achieved alone. They are beginning to see that militarism, poverty, racism, the loss of

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International Group Forges a Strategy for Survival

by Miranda Spencer

The International Foundation for the Survival and Development of Humanity is both the fruit and seed of Mikhail Gorbachev's "new thinking": when he held a "Forum for a Nuclear Free World" for world luminaries in February 1987, some participants decided to create an independent foundation to take advantage of the Cold War thaw and address the global issues discussed at the Forum.

Today that idea is blossoming. The organization, headed by its new director, Swedish diplomat Rolf Björnerstedt, is tackling nettlesome problems of human rights, the environment, development, and education. Among its first research efforts, led by Princeton physicist Frank von Hippel and Soviet scientist Roald Sagdeev, are a high-level critique of strategic defense and studies of deep cuts in nuclear weapons.

The International Foundation's beginnings were auspicious. It was created by Evgeni Velikhov, one of the USSR's most prominent scientists, and Jerome Wiesner, former president of MIT and science advisor to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. Several days later, a board of directors led by Velikhov and Wiesner met personally with Gorbachev, who publicly endorsed it.

Even before its programs were fully underway, the Foundation made an impact: Gorbachev's first meeting with the late Andrei Sakharov, who chaired its human rights committee, and

Sakharov's first visit to the United States were sponsored by the Foundation.

The Foundation intends its programs to be both pragmatic and international in scope. Like a conventional foundation, it makes grants. So far, it has provided disaster relief to victims of the 1988 Armenian earthquake, \$50,000 and 50,000 rubles to salvage the fire-devastated library of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and \$15,000 to an

structuring conventional forces so that they can only be used for defensive purposes," according to a mid-1989 report.

"There *are* dispositions," says William Miller, president of the U.S. office of the International Foundation. He stresses that "there are far too many nuclear weapons, and that considerable reductions are possible and necessary. These are people that know the field,

that have direct experience and can make sensible judgments."

The international security program has been mobilized to find the *technical* basis to support arms reduction agreements. The program committee contends that even the best START agreement would only shrink the entire nuclear arsenal by 20 percent. But no real cuts are possible, explains von Hippel, if the ballistic-missile defense (BMD) envisaged for Star Wars goes forward.

"The ABM Treaty is central to the future possibilities for offensive nuclear arms control," he says. "You can't have accidental-launch ballistic missile defense in place without violating the ABM Treaty." So the committee's first order of business was to puncture the remaining arguments for Star Wars.

The results of their first project—a report tentatively titled "Alternative Measures for Reducing the Danger of Launch of Nuclear Armed Missiles"—grew out of concern for our government's recent flirtation with a "limited" BMD that could be deployed as a hedge against accidental missile launches, as suggested by Senator Sam Nunn, the Georgia Democrat who heads the Armed Services Committee. "This was seized upon by the SDI [Organization] and various contractors

(continued on page 51)



international effort to halt the destruction of the Baltic Sea ecosystem, among other projects.

Like a think tank, the Foundation develops workshops and projects headed by prominent experts like von Hippel, former chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, and Sagdeev, former director of the Soviet Space Research Institute.

For the past year or so, the Foundation has been organizing projects and disseminating funds from other foundations. Its annual budget is about \$10 million. But unlike many institutes, the Foundation is not geared toward pure research; its projects are intended to have policy results. In the realm of international security, the result sought is drastic nuclear disarmament, "on the order of 90 percent or more, and re-

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because it was something they could do very quickly," notes von Hippel.

The group mobilized a subcommittee that convened two workshops on the topic: one in February 1989 with U.S. experts and another in May with both U.S. and Soviet thinkers. These brainstorming sessions—which von Hippel describes as "free-flowing discussions" where "everyone puts things together in ways that haven't been before"—produced a 30-40 page report, authored by von Hippel.

The report concludes that a limited BMD "would cause more harm than safety and exacerbate crisis stability." It also suggests alternatives to a limited BMD, such as "eliminating the strategic weapons that have pushed the two sides to the launch-on-warning doctrine"; providing for in-country monitoring systems in addition to radars, which are prone to false alarms; and designing self-destruct, or "command-disable," mechanisms within missiles which are already in use for missile-flight tests. The report's recommendations have been sent to the Supreme Soviet, and there are plans for international publication.

Nongovernmental Soviet-American scientific projects like the Foundation's on accidental launch managed throughout the 1980s to circumvent the wall of Cold War hostility, von Hippel points out. The international security committee's work actually builds on research conducted by the Federation of American Scientists and its counterpart, the independent Committee of Soviet Scientists Against the Nuclear Threat, which was founded by Evgeni Velikhov in 1983. Velikhov, who is vice-president of the Academy of Sciences and a close advisor to Gorbachev, formed a team with von Hippel to initiate several innovative projects.

They convened the workshop that led to the seismic monitoring experiment, sponsored by the Natural Resources Defense Council, which demonstrated that low-threshold nuclear tests can be verified. Last summer in the Black Sea, another NRDC venture

found that nuclear warheads aboard ships could be detected with radiation detectors, an important boost for naval arms control. These activities led to von Hippel giving congressional briefings and testifying before the Supreme Soviet—the same type of attention the Foundation hopes its accidental launch report will garner.

Currently, workshops with the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London are addressing post-START arms reductions. Future meetings are planned to explore the issues of stability at very low levels of nuclear deterrence and measures to halt the qualitative arms race (improvements in weapons' accuracy, lethality, and swiftness). Von Hippel has written extensively on these topics, and has been a leading propo-

tee reports directly. After that, the Foundation is relying on the eminence of its board members to cement the credibility of the findings. The recent addition of former Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland to chair the U.S. arm of the Foundation might provide new access to the White House.

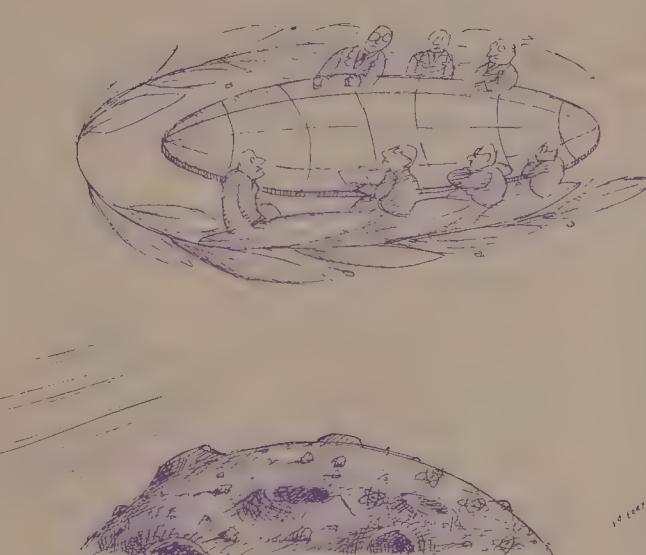
Getting a response to the groundbreaking work may be more of a problem in Washington than in Moscow. "Our government is complicated. It's not simply the White House. It's the Defense Department, pressure groups, citizens' groups, the media," Miller observes. "It's hard to get a consensus on issues within our country, but it's not any harder than it's ever been."

"We have no counterpart to Velikhov or Gorbachev," adds von Hippel. In the USSR, "everything is up for grabs. They're looking for new ideas. The status quo is pretty entrenched here."

The Foundation has the official support of the Soviet government and has attracted the interest of private groups and scholars. Says von Hippel, "We've already had a significant impact on Soviet forthcomingness in the arms control area." For example, when Velikhov attends the executive committee's discussions, "He can walk up to Gorbachev and say, 'hey, here's a great idea.'" Indeed, their input has been partially credited for the Soviets' unilateral cuts in their East European forces.

The group is even helping to pave the USSR's democratic path. Deputies of the Supreme Soviet observed the U.S. Congress in session last year, a visit arranged by the International Foundation.

Whether it will have as much impact on nuclear disarmament, Star Wars, or the other areas it's engaging remains to be seen. But through the work of von Hippel, Sagdeev, and others, the International Foundation has signalled it will attack global problems with verve and intelligence.



ment of the "minimum deterrent" concept, in which the superpowers would reduce arsenals to perhaps a few hundred nuclear weapons.

The Foundation still faces the challenge of getting the message out. "The truth sometimes embarrasses governments," notes Jerome Wiesner, "and they are reluctant to make public information which contradicts their positions." Gorbachev emphasized the active role at the first meeting of the Foundation's board, saying that the organization's work "will be useful only if it is not an 'ivory tower.'"

The Foundation will disseminate its work through such channels as press conferences, speeches, and media op-eds. President Bush, the House Armed Services Committee, and other key policymakers will receive the commit-

Miranda Spencer is a freelance writer based in New Jersey who frequently contributes to Nuclear Times.

have power, that it's just going to be left to the experts. Unfortunately, a lot of our spokespeople are complicit in that conspiracy of the powerful to discredit or ignore the power of the people.

There are four areas we need to be working on in the next few years that are essential to the continued development and growth of the peace movement. One is research and discussion about the institutions and mechanisms that can lead us to a more cooperative and just world in which people are free and at peace. Second, we need to be doing education within our organizations. We need, thirdly, to build political power, and that involves the development of coalitions and the linking of foreign policy to domestic policy issues. We must stand with poor, with working people, with black and third world people of this country.

And finally, we need to enable people to get direct experience of the conflicts and the violence we're against. Despite our slow progress in integrating our movement, we're still a middle-class movement of people whose hearts are in the right place, but who have almost no experience of what it's like to be a Salvadoran peasant or a Filipino church worker—those who are the victims of low-intensity conflict. We don't have the experience of what it is like to live with the drugs and the crime of our inner cities. The experience we had in citizen diplomacy, through East-West delegations and Witness for Peace, has to be multiplied many times over. People develop not only their knowledge but their commitment and inspiration by meeting the people who are suffering from this system of militarism, violence, and profit.

NICK CARTER: One of the things we've hinted at is the sense in which we're getting close to the source of power. And when you get close to the source of power, it has a way of creating a negative atmosphere. Things are comfortable when you're not close to the source of power, but when you really get close, it gets hot. We shouldn't always see the negativity that surrounds this as a bad thing.

We're not going to be the ones who negotiate treaties, and we shouldn't desire that. I like Bill Coffin's classic definition of grassroots activity, which looks to Congress to ratify only what it can no longer resist. It's really important for us to have a good sense of history. We need to reread, or read for the first time, the history of the abolition movement and the women's suffrage movement, and watch what happened to them over the decades in their attempts to deal with entrenched power and moral issues in this country—their successes and failures and splits and funding problems. There's great inspiration for us in that, and a lot of wisdom.

MICHAEL KLADE: Jeffrey said that there's a civilization crisis, and I share that sense. Francis Fukuyama is getting attention for the "End of History" thesis, and a lot of people share that view. They're calling it the Bush Doctrine now in Washington—the notion that we've won the Cold War, that perfection has come to the world. I see quite the opposite.

I see power and wealth being concentrated in fewer hands worldwide and more people being excluded from power and the things they need to live. And that's going to create violence among people, like the Shiites and Sunnis fighting each other while both groups are excluded from power. Nick was talking about getting closer to power, but I think if you look at the world, power is evaporating. It's being broken down into fiefdoms, corporations, and power centers feuding with one another.

Look at what's happening in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union; they have exploded. I certainly don't want to go back to Stalinism, but we have to face the fact that Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union proper could explode in terribly devastating ways, and China, too—all empires. Ethiopia, Sri Lanka, and Lebanon have all disintegrated. What's our position on the Baltic republics if they decide to break away from the Soviet Union and the Soviets send in troops? All of these things are going to produce tests for our movement that we're not even thinking about.



DAMON MOGLEN: Respectfully, inasmuch as our movement does address those issues, we're in great trouble. We must think globally, but we must act locally. I don't think civilization is collapsing any more than it did in 1212 or 1381. What we see is the train of history moving along, and it's traveling through some very strange places. When I hear about children in Ohio drinking uranium-contaminated water, I'm not sure that the problem ahead of us is the Baltic republics. We oftentimes have a sense of having an impact on an issue that we're working on, and then we become disjointed from that, because we think another issue has suddenly become more prominent. There's a real necessity in sticking with what we have in front of us.

JEFFREY RICHARDSON: I think it's important in our work, our discussions, and specifically in our education to look at what is happening as a civilization crisis, in the sense that civilization is crumbling, like the Roman empire. We can look at our work in the context of putting civilization back together, but we're not recreating that which is falling apart before us. It has been something totally new. That includes values, the way we perceive life, religion—everything. That's what I see crumbling before me, which potentially will take everybody with it.

If you are under the influence of a major power, you will go down with it—not because you want to, but because in some ways you are connected

to its economic system, political institutions, and military. Obviously you've been educated by it, so you even have some of that civilization in you. Look at the dangerous potential for this crisis, because people will try to prop it up, which they're doing now. I think it tends to make people become very reactionary because they feel the reality they have based their whole existence and world on is crumbling. And that to me is something that needs to be considered as we do our work, particularly as people of color. We want something totally new, because what we're dealing with is on the way out.

NICK CARTER: I resonate well with what Damon said. Global talk takes people's concerns away from what's right at home in their own communities, particularly issues of how toxic wastes affect the poor in this country. And yet we are really concerned about global issues, but there's a risk of classism in encouraging global thinking. It doesn't mean that we shouldn't do it, but we need to make sure that the white male rural farmer realizes that he has something bound up with the black woman in Philadelphia, who has something bound up with the people in El Salvador and Southeast Asia. Our analysis and plan of action should make the necessary links and not allow people to escape one concern for something that's a little easier. That sort of Peace Corps syndrome, of bringing the goodness of

America somewhere else, is not what we want to do.

MICHAEL KLADE: What Damon said sounds wise, and yet I feel I have to push my point a little further, because I'm worried about global violence. I ask myself where American soldiers are going to be sent to fight, kill people, and die. The most likely places, I think [after seeing U.S. troops sent to Panama in December] will be against the Sendero Luminoso in Peru, or the poor people of Medellin, or the New People's Army in the Philippines. We haven't the faintest notion of who those people are that we might be sending troops against. We do actually have military people in Peru, shooting at Peruvians now, and I think that's only going to increase in time. We have a military base there. And we're involved in the Philippines. We do have to worry about these places, because that's where our military is going to be. It's going to be an interventionary force that gets sent to fight poor people in these places.

And I think we do have a stake in the Baltics and in Eastern Europe. If Gorbachev is forced to send tanks into one of these countries, which I think is very possible, detente is going to go out the window in a matter of moments. And that's what the people in the Bush administration who really want to get the arms race going again are waiting for. And if Soviet tanks go into Estonia or Latvia, our disarmament movement

will be instantly affected by that decision. I'm not actually saying that I disagree with you, but that as a peace movement we do have a very big vested interest in the decay of global order and the violence it produces.

VIRGINIA BARON: I agree with Michael. It proves the need for tight connections, because if something like that were to happen, I think that all of us who have had connections with the Soviets would be over there, on the phone, in contact, and we'd be ready to start moving on whatever the next step would be. We have to continue our connections with people.

DAMON MOGLEN: Chernobyl proved that the earth is a very small place and any political conflict has repercussions. At the same time, here I am, a white guy who goes to Columbia, South Carolina to organize the Savannah River nuclear plant, and what I find is that 85 percent of the blacks in the state of South Carolina live in a community where there is a hazardous waste dump. We can talk about the problem of dumping chemicals in third world countries, but if we can make people understand that we're doing that in our own country, to our own population, those people will better understand why they must not allow it to happen in other people's countries.

To be continued in next issue.

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DEADLINE

Uncovering the Berlin Wall

by Melvin Croan

IT

he Berlin Wall came tumbling down—or did it? American network television was on top of the story—or was it? One thing is certain: viewers were not exactly glued to their sets, according to A.C. Nielsen. Despite the fact that the breaching of the Wall was arguably one of the top stories of the decade, Nielsen ratings for evening news coverage were significantly lower than those for the San Francisco earthquake and last June's crackdown at Tiananmen Square.

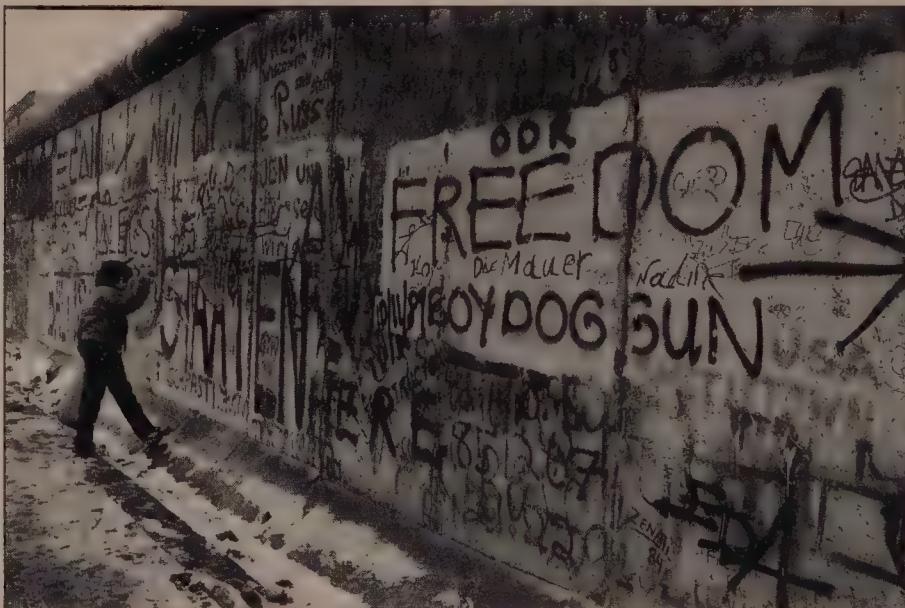
Chalk it up to the public's predilection for violence? Perhaps. But the networks also have themselves to blame, at least in part, for the fact that a story so intrinsically compelling failed to play very well with the television audience.

The most obvious flaw in the networks' coverage was that it was often repetitive and therefore tedious. Meant to be aggressive, the coverage was also often merely confusing. And by endlessly pursuing the individual human interest angle, all three networks unwittingly muddled the social forces and political dynamics that were at work behind the breaking news they reported each evening.

Serving Two Masters

Coverage of the East German story, as of the rest of Eastern Europe, has been

extensive and aggressive. But it has suffered from an attempt to serve two very different masters. On the one hand, American television news is beholden to, and shares, its viewers' ingrained cultural assumptions. Among other things, these assumptions slight history, focus on individual actors at the expense of impersonal sociopolitical dynamics, and discount ideas and ideals in favor of material things and materialistic concerns.



WEST GERMAN BOY CHIPS AWAY AT THE WALL NEAR CHECKPOINT CHARLIE ON THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE WALL.

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On the other hand, producers, commentators, and reporters are interested in demonstrating that theirs is a sophisticated and universalistic, rather than a provincial, perspective. Hence their efforts to display an awareness of history, an appreciation of the cultural premises of other societies, and an understanding of the interrelationships among developments.

These two modes, one appealing to traditional cultural assumptions, the other exhibiting certain cosmopolitan ambitions, do not, however, readily coexist. When they come into conflict, as they must, the traditional assump-

tions generally win out, and what aspires to sophistication ends up being shallow or trivial.

CBS's coverage of the flight from East Germany (which by the end of the year would total more than 300,000 people) began as early as August 14, with the story of a comely 25-year-old named Inez Hartmann making her dash to freedom, in this case across Hungary's western border. Two months later Anthony Mason revisited Inez, now comfortably settled with cousins in West Germany. Viewers followed her as she toured well-stocked shops—to all appearances the cause of her (in Mason's words) "cultural exhilaration."

Everywhere the networks went—in Budapest's refugee tent camps, at the gates of the West German embassy in Prague or the American embassy in East Berlin, where a few East Germans also sought asylum, and later, after the Wall was opened, in West Berlin as well—the bathos was pretty much of a

single piece.

Shanto Iyengar and Donald R. Kinder, two media scholars and authors of a recent book, *News That Matters*, contest the personalized approach. After comparing viewer reactions to different stories on similar subjects, Iyengar and Kinder concluded that "vivid," or personalized, stories are no more persuasive or influential with viewers than those that offer similar information in a straight news format. In fact, they conclude, "A vivid case seems, if anything, to diminish the power of television news to set the public's agenda." Why should this be the case? "Per-

haps," they hazard, "vivid presentations are generally less persuasive in part because they are so successful as melodrama."

Metaphor and Narrative

The limitations of television's efforts to reach its audience by appealing to cultural assumptions were nowhere more obvious than in the networks' treatment of the abstract ideas and ideals that were so much a part of the East German story. A case in point was the central, pivotal issue of freedom. The overwhelming majority of East Germans, both those who fled West and those who chose to remain in their country, all were said to crave freedom—freedom in any one of its many precious forms.

Anchors, reporters, and commentators all agreed that freedom was the issue, and most of those who covered the story first hand may well have felt in their own souls what was really at stake. Unfortunately, a predilection for incantatory rhetoric reduced a noble ideal to a media mantra. Worse, in their attempt to make freedom vivid for the audience, the networks all too often boiled everything down to the issue of material well-being.

Not surprisingly, given the singular infatuation of Americans with the automobile, it was the car that became one of the key symbols of the essential difference between the Free World and Unfree Society. A CBS report by Susan Spencer said it all, contrasting a top-of-the-line West German Mercedes Benz sports coup with an ordinary, entirely pathetic East German Trabant. What Spencer referred to as that "much-maligned East German car" was consistently maligned throughout prime-time coverage of the East German story. This sorry vehicle was savaged as being "made of a kind of cardboard" (ABC's Barrie Dunsmore on October 5) or of "plastic" (ABC's Jerry King on September 13), and having "a motorcycle engine" that made it feel "like driving a lawn mower" (King on September 12). Others elevated it to the status of a "symbol of backwardness" (NBC's Mike Boettcher on September 11) and, for the hundreds of East Germans who discarded it as they fled, a "symbol of

their past" (CBS's Anthony Mason on September 12).

Of course, the low esteem in which the Trabant is widely held may be entirely justified; indeed, there are already plans to have Volkswagen develop a successor to the car. That, however, is scarcely the point. At issue is the television convention of seizing upon a material object, in this instance a wretched car, as a metaphor for a spiritual condition, in this case the absence of freedom.

In their accounts of East German developments, all three networks promoted a simplistic three-stage narrative of what had taken place: first, the damaging mass exodus to the West; then, East German border closings effectively sealing off the country; finally, the eruption of an opposition movement that had been bottled up inside.

All news constructs a narrative, of course, by arranging events into a coherent story, but the challenge is to create one as adequate as possible to the facts themselves. Unfortunately, this particular three-step account of historical causation led journalists astray. Contrary to the fable fostered by network news, East Germany's internal opposition did not suddenly arise in response to the closing of the country's borders last fall; rather, domestic dissidents had a long history of demanding basic reforms. The emphasis on "we want out" as the leitmotif of East Germany's first mass public demonstrations, however, served to focus attention solely on the "Great Escape" as the catalyst of all subsequent developments.

Sophistication?

The networks' efforts to provide more sophisticated analysis—to serve television's second master—did not always fare much better than its misplaced metaphors and simplistic narratives.

Among the most noteworthy of such failures was NBC's attempt to examine the delicate question of German reunification, an issue pushed to the fore by the collapse of the Wall. In a November 9 report, Peter Kent pronounced reunification "pretty much inevitable," a conclusion he urged upon viewers after running film clips of Adolf Hitler and

the Third Reich, followed by comments by the renowned Irish diplomat and scholar, Conor Cruise O'Brian, who raised the specter of a "Fourth Reich" in the form of a new pan-German economic power. Germany's political past and future economic potential are cause for concern. But implying that a reunified Germany might well turn neo-Nazi is surely irresponsible. It overlooks entirely the major post-World-War-II socioeconomic changes that have occurred in both West and East Germany, and slighted the the Federal Republic's impressive four decades of political democracy.

The problem here, as everywhere and anytime something newsworthy occurs, is that network television immediately swings into action to mobilize conventional viewer assumptions, whether through metaphor, narrative, or analysis.

Such techniques produce a comforting illusion of understanding when instead reporters and producers should be raising disturbing questions for their audiences: How will democracy take root in the wreckage of Soviet-style communism? How will postcommunist political structures cope with the social repercussions of serious economic reform? What is to keep nationalistic animosities from destroying the prospects for international cooperation in the new Eastern Europe? At a bare minimum, it seems highly unlikely that by trafficking in tried-but-not-invariably-true popular American assumptions, television news is enhancing public comprehension of the torrent of extraordinary events to which we are now witness. Even less will it help Americans adjust to the shift from the old Cold War politico-strategic order to the unprecedented new constellations that history is now calling forth.

*Melvin Croan is chair of the Soviet and East European Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin at Madison and is completing a book, *The Rebirth of Central Europe*.*

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